United Nations S/PV.4217

Security Council

Distr.: General
10 November 2000

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4217th meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Security Council Chamber at Headquarters on Friday, 10 November 2000, at 10.40 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued by the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4217th meeting, held in private on 10 November 2000, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question'.

"In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and with the consent of the Council, the President extended an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, President of the Palestinian Authority.

"The members of the Council and His Excellency President Yasser Arafat had a constructive discussion."

00-74130 (E) 101100

United Nations S/PV.4218

Security Council

Distr.: General
10 November 2000

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4218th meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Security Council Chamber at Headquarters on Friday, 10 November 2000, at 12.20 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued by the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4218th meeting, held in private on 10 November 2000, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian Question'.

"The President, with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Israel, at his request, to participate in the discussion of the item without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

"The members of the Council and the representative of Israel had a constructive discussion."

00-74136 (E) 101100

United Nations S/PV.4219

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4219th meeting

Friday, 10 November 2000, 3.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahmed
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Karev
	Tunisia	Mr. Ayari
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Briefing by Mrs. Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-74055 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Briefing by Mrs. Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council decides to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mrs. Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

It was so decided.

The President: I welcome Mrs. Ogata and invite her to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, who has contributed so much to the worldwide protection of refugees and the resolution of the refugee problem since taking office in 1991.

I give the floor to Mrs. Ogata.

Mrs. Ogata: Thank you, Sir, for having invited me once more to brief the Security Council. In six weeks, after 10 years, I will leave office, so it is for the last time that I speak here today as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Therefore, rather than elaborate on specific regional crises, I will take this opportunity to give, perhaps, some food for thought, looking back at the experiences of the past turbulent decade and reflecting on the future of refugee work — in particular, on its relationship with this body, the most important forum where issues of peace and security are discussed and addressed.

I briefed the Security Council for the first time eight years ago. Since then, I have met with the Council quite often; if my records are accurate, this is my twelfth briefing. Over the years, refugee issues have also appeared on the agenda of the Council more regularly and frequently. This proves the obvious. The nature of contemporary wars, which is primarily internal and intercommunal; their intensity; and objectives — especially the brutal expulsion of communities from specific areas — mean that co today are inevitably the main cause of mass e Internal conflicts and refugee flows, in turn, become a threat to peace and security across bord many areas.

More than ever, refugees and wars inextricably linked. My first briefing to the C was in 1992, when the violent break-up of the Yugoslavia was displacing millions of people. less usual then than it is today that the representat a humanitarian agency should be asked to speak the Security Council, and it was the tragedy of cleansing which placed the United Nations re agency — whose mission is to serve people — centre of the political debate on peace and securit

Over the years, I have observed the int between the political and humanitarian spheres and evolve. I have not ceased calling for po support for humanitarian crises. I have rep countless times that humanitarian action can address — not resolve — political problems. I given much thought to the relationship be humanitarian and political bodies. Bridging th between the pressing, often dramatic interests most vulnerable and deprived people in the worl the legitimate concerns of States has been the c theme of my decade at the Office of the United N High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

My central question today is therefor following: What do refugees need from the Se Council? What does the United Nations refugee a expect from the body responsible for addressing and security problems in order to be able to ful core mission to provide effective protection to ref and find durable solutions to their problems?

I would like to elaborate on and make co proposals in two main areas: peace operation peace-building. Let me begin with peace operatio

As we have said many times, the nature o has changed, but the concept of peace operation still be based on the assumption that wars are f across clear-cut front lines. In spite of discussio wider approaches, peace operations continue country-based and to reflect neither the internal n regional nature of many of today's wars. The C will appreciate that we at UNHCR ask ourselves

questions as an agency dealing precisely with forced population movements across blurred conflict lines and across borders.

We deploy our own staff — unarmed humanitarian workers — to dangerous and isolated duty stations. They are increasingly targeted and — as in the terrible September incidents of Atambua and Macenta — attacked and brutally killed. The gap in time between the beginning of humanitarian activities and that of peace operations continues to widen. Last, but certainly not least, in many places, such as West Timor, Guinea and Liberia, forced population movements have become the cause and conduit of grave insecurity and instability and little is done to address the problem, as if we had learned nothing from the lessons of the former eastern Zaire.

This is a situation that worries me deeply. In most parts of the world where UNHCR and its humanitarian partners are called upon to operate, mechanisms to address security problems are slow-moving, unwieldy and not adapted to the new type of conflicts. In many places, they simply do not exist. Among my most vivid memories is the rescue operation that we set up in the former Zaire in 1996. When all deployment of international forces failed, our staff had to go and search for scattered, hungry and terrified refugees in the rainforest of that vast country, sometimes even on foot.

I am aware of the difficulties in political terms, in military terms and in terms of resources, but there are a few points that I would like to raise and a few suggestions that I would like to make in this respect.

Let me insist first of all on the need to initiate and implement peace operations much more rapidly. The issue of timing, frankly speaking, is one that has not yet been satisfactorily addressed by Governments. We know that peace operations will inevitably be slower than the humanitarian response. In refugee emergencies, UNHCR, other United Nations front-line agencies — especially the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Food Programme — the Red Cross movement and non-governmental organizations will continue to be the first on the ground. If there has to be complementarity in this endeavour, however, we must do all that we can to reduce the gap between the deployment of humanitarian personnel and the implementation of some security support measures. Otherwise, the cost is simply unbearable, as proven by the catastrophic consequences of inaction in the successive Great Lakes crises, for example, or by the recent murders in Indonesia and Guinea.

We at UNHCR have become used to being called to confront refugee emergencies literally at a few hours' notice. We have no choice; delays in our work inevitably mean that lives are lost. Since 1992, we have therefore progressively built systems to respond quickly to sudden, massive population movements. These systems are based essentially on the concept of stand-by resources that can be mobilized and sent to the field within 72 hours — staff, equipment, goods and money.

Since 1992, however, the environment has changed rapidly. Political pressure for quick solutions to refugee problems has increased and there is a growing number of humanitarian actors, including sometimes Government themselves. The Kosovo refugee crisis last year proved that we had to adapt our existing emergency response systems to a new and more crowded humanitarian space, and the area on which we are focusing in particular is to upgrade our surge capacity to address refugee emergencies at very short notice.

No matter how rapidly and effectively humanitarian agencies mobilize, however, their response will be inadequate unless the environment in which they operate is secure. I am speaking both of staff security and, from UNHCR's point of view, of the security of refugees and of the communities hosting them.

There is today an increased awareness that humanitarian agencies should not be left alone to confront difficult and dangerous situations. The question is: How do we ensure that? I have often spoken — also in this room — of the need to look at different options: not only full-fledged peacekeeping, but also and especially measures intended to support local law-enforcement capacity.

I insist on the word "support". That is the key concept, and it implies working together, as opposed to straightforward intervention. I am also referring to very specific situations, especially insecure border areas in and around refugee sites. And I am thinking of relatively simple measures: assisting the judiciary; training the police and the military; supporting the police with logistics and communication; and deploying, if necessary, liaison officers to work as

coordinators and advisors. We have some such programmes — and they are working reasonably well — in the area of western Tanzania hosting refugees from Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We need the Council's support for similar programmes in other critical spots: in Guinea, for example, whose Government has requested international cooperation in addressing security problems in the areas bordering Liberia and Sierra Leone.

The response of Governments to the concept of a ladder of options to improve local security in refugee-inhabited areas has been very positive, but it has remained, so far, in the realm of theory. It is urgent that we take steps to operationalize it, and to implement concrete, predictable measures, for example the deployment of humanitarian security staff. We need to know what contributions may be forthcoming in human, material and financial terms, and, again, how quickly they will be available.

I have insisted so far on intermediate security measures, because I know that in most situations peacekeeping is simply an unrealistic option. But I also believe that the transition that started with the end of the cold war has not yet ended, that new or renewed conflicts will flare up in different regions, and that the international community will have to maintain peace after very fragile ceasefire agreements are signed. Peacekeeping, therefore, will continue to remain necessary. But to remain relevant, it will have to adapt to the new environment and become much more effective.

We in the humanitarian community have welcomed the initiative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, on an in-depth review of peace operations. We have been among the most eager supporters of the report (S/2000/809) of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and are participating very actively in the discussions on its implementation. The report is very important and courageous in its attempt to discuss comprehensively and in a broader context how the United Nations can fulfil its key function of helping maintain peace and security.

But from a more specific operational humanitarian perspective, the report is also extremely relevant to UNHCR and its partners, particularly as it sets out a few objectives which, if achieved, would provide crucial support to humanitarian action. It stresses the need for quick decisions in responding to crises; it gives priority to quick fact-finding missions to the field; it underlines the importance of identifying and pursuing early solutions; and it places great emphasis on presence in the field. Those are crucial aspects of the report the importance of which UNHCR has advocated for years. They are also, by the way, basic elements of any humanitarian deployment. They clearly show the affinity, if I may call it so, between humanitarian action and peace operations, and the need to refine their relationship and mutual support.

UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies have large programmes in post-conflict areas, where peacekeeping is vital: think of Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor, just to mention a few. Without peacekeepers, we could not have worked and could not continue to work effectively in those areas. On the other hand, I am pleased that, in discussions of the concept of preliminary assessments, the role that is played and can be played by field-based humanitarian agencies has been recognized. It is very important that these agencies are seen as complementary to peace operations, and not just as other actors who happen to work in the same areas. In my 1992 briefing to the Security Council, I said that humanitarian action was becoming dynamically linked to peacekeeping and peacemaking. We were then learning important lessons from our close cooperation with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia. I am pleased that the United Nations is now finally trying to make this concept a concrete reality.

But speaking not only from a humanitarian but also from a refugee perspective, I would like to take this opportunity to go beyond the conclusions of the Brahimi Panel report. Look at West Africa, for example. There have been, as members know, cross-border attacks in both Guinea and Liberia in areas hosting refugees — and indeed because of the presence of refugees. Beyond Sierra Leone's borders, however, the only presence of the international community, amidst half a million refugees, is humanitarian, because the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) is, of course, limited to Sierra Leone. Yet, not only are humanitarian workers seriously at risk in border areas of Liberia and Guinea, but there is also a very real danger that the Sierra Leone conflict will spread, and that refugee flows will be one of the conduits of that propagation. The

conflict, in simple words, may become regional but the response, as I have said, continues to be country-based.

I understand of course that to expand peacekeeping beyond a country's borders presents many political hurdles and problems of resources. Sierra Leone is itself a good example of the difficulties encountered by a large operation in an area of relatively low strategic interest, with uncertain prospects and high risks. But the issue of insecurity spilling over across borders from countries in conflict and affecting in particular areas hosting refugees should be examined and factored into strategies for such operations.

West Africa is a case in point, but the matter is broader and particularly serious in Africa. The Burundi, Congo and Angola conflicts, for instance, pose similar problems. I would like to make a proposal. Could peacekeepers, in situations of refugee flows which might become carriers of instability, be given a special, cross-border observer mandate — in a word, to monitor areas hosting refugees beyond the borders of the country in which those peacekeepers operate? Refugee-hosting countries, of course, would have to agree, but that would be in their interest, because this expanded concept of peacekeeping could address some of their own concerns in terms of security and stability.

Had we had that form of support, say, in West Timor, maybe the events of last September could have been avoided. Such an arrangement would also have been useful in the former eastern Zaire in 1994 to 1996; perhaps some of the subsequent violence and instability could have been prevented.

Let me now turn to the second important area on which I want to focus: peace-building. For years we have been saying that unless more attention is devoted to the consolidation of institutions and communities after conflict, peace will not hold. UNHCR, of course, has a very special interest in this process because of its mission to ensure that refugees return home and settle down in safety and dignity. And we have had very difficult experiences in countries emerging from conflict, with large numbers of people returning and resources rapidly dwindling after emergencies have subsided, as in Rwanda, Liberia and Bosnia, just to mention a few examples.

Its focus on peace-building truly makes the Brahimi Panel report very complete. Once more, however, we should shift into operational mode and look at how we can be as comprehensive in action as we are on paper. I will speak, again, from the perspective of the United Nations refugee agency. Our problem, as I have said many times, is that we do not have the resources, or indeed the expertise, to run development programmes. And yet, development agencies are slow to come once emergencies have ended. There is a gap between emergency, short-term humanitarian activities and the implementation of medium-term to long-term development and reconstruction programmes. During that gap, societies can unravel again very easily, and conflicts can re-start.

I have personally made efforts to coordinate a joint initiative with two key international development partners of UNHCR — the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). This initiative, which was launched in January 1999 under the auspices of the Brookings Institution, has become known as the Brookings process.

We aimed in particular at filling the gap in funding and the gap in responsibilities and operations. In some countries we have initiated interesting and creative projects — for example with the World Bank in war-affected areas of Sri Lanka. In others, such as Sierra Leone, we have made proposals for pilot projects involving all three agencies. We are now examining opportunities elsewhere — Burundi, if a peace agreement is eventually implemented, would be a possibility. On our side, we have made great efforts, yet the response by Governments and organizations has been very timid, and raising funds for post-conflict activities remains a very difficult and uncertain exercise. I must tell the Council that I am disappointed by the limited response to our work in this area.

For us at UNHCR, peace-building is not an abstract concept. We see the concrete, sometimes desperate needs of returnees in devastated areas or in areas where communities continue to be deeply divided. We are doing our part to address these needs. In the 1980s, we initiated "quick impact projects" for emergency rehabilitation in areas of return. In some places, we were criticized for having gone beyond our mission, but in countries like Rwanda, for example, could we have afforded to withdraw when returnees still lived under plastic sheeting? When schools had no roofs, no books, no teachers?

We are now going farther and exploring new avenues, particularly in the promotion of community

coexistence as a first step towards reconciliation. We have launched a pilot project, in returnee areas of Rwanda and Bosnia, called Imagine Coexistence, consisting essentially of support to small, community-based inter-ethnic income-generating activities, around which we would like to build clusters of other activities branching off into the community — sports, theatre, culture, dialogue. This is one of the innovative approaches that we are taking. But its impact, once again, will be limited, unless there are more rapid and comprehensive efforts for peace-building at various levels.

One crucial issue which I would like to mention before concluding is that of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR). UNHCR is particularly anxious that effective DDR contributes to the creation of a safe environment for refugees returning home. Without any doubt, DDR is also one of the areas in which UNHCR expects more decisive action by the Security Council. In their great potential and in the obstacles which undermine them, DDR programmes reflect all the contradictions of peace-building.

I see two problems which need to be addressed in particular: first, the roles and responsibilities of all actors involved in DDR-related activities must be clarified; secondly, there must be a stronger focus on reintegration, because disarmed and demobilized soldiers, if they are not given opportunities for a future, will go back to more lucrative military activities. These are not small matters and, unless they are addressed seriously, little progress will be achieved in this important area.

The last 10 years have proved that, if they are not part of a comprehensive political and security approach, humanitarian workers face dangers, are less effective and even risk aggravating humanitarian crises. What we must establish, at different levels, are what we could call "security partnerships for refugees" — joint ventures between States hosting refugees, those ready to provide resources, and humanitarian organizations like UNHCR. In my briefing today, I have spoken of practical ways on how to promote such partnerships: by containing insecurity linked to refugee crises, improving peace operations and focusing more decisively on peace-building. Through security partnerships, together we can create a better security environment in which refugee protection and solutions can be more effective. This is an essential, if very complex, task.

My successor, High Commissioner-elect Ruud Lubbers, has the experience and the stature to carry it out with energy, courage and creativity. I trust that the Security Council will give him the same strong and constant support that I have enjoyed in this Chamber for the past 10 years — support for which I would like to express once more my deep personal gratitude. I do so also on behalf of my colleagues, and of all the uprooted people they so bravely work with in some of the most dangerous areas in the world. Please continue to help them.

The President: I thank Mrs. Ogata for her comprehensive and interesting briefing.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): As this is Mrs. Ogata's last briefing to the Security Council, I would like to begin by paying tribute to her for her leadership and commitment during the turbulent and difficult years of the 1990s. She so ably led her organization through the turmoil of northern Iraq, the Balkans, Rwanda, Timor and other crises. For her efforts she has earned our gratitude and for her commitment and her successes she has earned our deep respect.

In recent years, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been called on as never before to take on enormous responsibilities in responding to the needs of so many refugees and others, including internal refugees, caught up in conflicts. We appreciate, as always, her thoughtful comments today on the huge challenges that continue to confront UNHCR, the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole.

We salute Mrs. Ogata for her courage in daring to challenge those who have sown conflict and are reluctant to make peace, those who continue to make it difficult for their citizens to go home, those who abuse the human rights of refugees or of their own people. She has taken a tough stance and has not been afraid to speak up on behalf of peace and reconciliation. She leaves a high standard, an example of courage, commitment and determination that paves the way for the future.

Mrs. Ogata has also tackled the issue of the internally displaced. UNHCR has defined its willingness to step up to the plate and respond where

asked to do so, as in the Balkans, Angola and Eritrea. I commend her for her efforts to try to redress the inequities that the internally displaced face in the international system.

UNHCR has indeed galvanized the international community to respond to the humanitarian imperatives of our time. But it is not an independent actor — it is an organization in which all Member States of the United Nations are stakeholders, and it is our collective task to ensure that UNHCR fulfils its mandate responsibilities to protect and provide durable solutions for refugees. To do this, UNHCR must prioritize and maximize the use of its resources. But it is the obligation of Member States to adequately fund UNHCR so that refugees may receive the standard of care and protection they deserve. We cannot hold UNHCR accountable if donors do not increase their generosity.

Perhaps most importantly, we need to move forward on addressing the security of both refugees and humanitarian personnel. It is not acceptable that humanitarian workers have become targets of conflicting parties seeking to politicize or disrupt humanitarian assistance. It is not acceptable that we do not have better mechanisms to reduce their vulnerability to attacks and intimidation, and it is not acceptable that humanitarian aid has been directed by warlords and corrupt Governments.

We have read the Secretary-General's report of 18 October on the security of United Nations personnel with interest, and welcome the upcoming debate on the recommendations. The recent loss of four UNHCR staff members in West Timor and in Guinea reminds us all that States are responsible for safeguarding the physical security and property of humanitarian workers. When any attack occurs, States must investigate and bring to justice those responsible.

The enormous contribution of refugee-hosting countries, the majority of which are in the developing world, is not sufficiently recognized and appreciated. The impact on their countries, their communities, their homes and their environment is immeasurable. It is time we collectively identified how we can better help them.

A final point: the United States remains concerned about the protection of vulnerable groups among refugees. In particular, the physical and sexual abuse of refugee women and children remains a widespread problem, especially when they have been forced to flee their homes without their husbands and fathers. During last month's Security Council meeting on women and peace and security, Secretary-General Kofi Annan urged the Security Council to do everything in its power to give women an equal voice with men on questions of peace and security. This includes protection as an important component in obtaining a broader humanitarian commitment to those who are most vulnerable in times of conflict. The Security Council reflected this concern last week, when it adopted its first resolution on women and peace and security.

I would like to conclude by saying that my Government warmly welcomes the choice of Ruud Lubbers as the new High Commissioner. His experience, his reputation and his commitment to global issues make him an excellent choice to carry forward the remarkable leadership of Mrs. Ogata.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I wish at the outset to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mrs. Ogata and to express our gratitude for her activities while heading the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). We pay tribute to her personal commitment to the service of refugees and her unflagging will to engage in constructive dialogue with all States, a dialogue illustrated by her presence at the Council table 12 times. We also hail her energy in leading her organization and in adapting it well to reality and current needs.

Unfortunately, the 1990s were a decade marked by considerable refugee flows, sometimes massive flows in very short periods. The UNHCR was sorely tested, but every time Mrs. Ogata demonstrated her determination and her tireless energy. Mrs. Ogata, you have provided the best possible image of the United Nations, and we thank you for having done so.

I shall not repeat matters in my statement to the General Assembly a few days ago on behalf of the European Union. I would like to restrict myself to a few comments on the subject Mrs. Ogata has just dealt with: the link between conflicts and refugees. That is the heart of the problem, which we must deal with in this Chamber.

More than ever, unfortunately, conflicts cannot be dealt with without dealing directly with the plight of refugees. The events in Rwanda, followed by those in the eastern part of the former Zaire, which we

discussed a few days ago, show the close and often deadly linkage between conflicts and refugees. Even more concerning, these events have shown the effects of failure to act, or of inappropriate action, on the part of the international community.

Several problems arise. Refugees not only fall victim to conflicts, but are sometimes used by the warring parties to pursue their political and military objectives. Two examples illustrate this phenomenon.

The first example is that fighters blend in with genuine civilian refugees to hide themselves and to use the refugees as shields, while the combatants pursue their armed activities. This is what happened in eastern Zaire between 1994 and 1997 with the ex-FAR and the *interahamwe*. These are particularly well-known cases. It is the duty of the international community to separate, as we say in French, the grain from the chaff. Otherwise, the refugees bear the cost of reprisals against the fighters, as was the case in a massive way in eastern Zaire.

There are several possibilities, including the intermediate solutions suggested several times by Mrs. Ogata, such as the establishment of observers or the use of international police. We would be very grateful to Mrs. Ogata for any additional comments she might make on the subject, which seems to us particularly important.

The second example is of fighters keeping refugees under their control to prevent stabilization of the situation and national reconciliation. They do this for political ends. Here, I think particularly of the situation in West Timor, where the pro-integration militia rule the refugee camps. It is up to the host country, with the international community's assistance if necessary, to prevent armed factions from using the refugees as their instruments, at the refugees' expense and at the expense of peace. The Security Council mission that has just left for Timor has no other objective than to assist the Indonesian authorities so that they can bring a rapid and final solution to this problem in West Timor.

In the light of these two observations, the issue of the location of refugee camps arises. It is a fundamental issue. The closer the camps are to borders, the more vulnerable they are to attacks and reprisals, and the more they can be manipulated by political-military factions. The refugee situation in Tanzania and Guinea today shows how drastic and serious these problems are.

Refugees are a very heavy burden on the host countries. Their presence can create or trigger destabilizing effects on ethnic balances or be a considerable drain on natural resources. We have seen this in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We see it now in Guinea and in the Congo (Brazzaville). I note in particular that the burden carried by Guinea is, in terms of the proportion of refugees to the total population, the heaviest in the entire African continent.

The international community has not sufficiently demonstrated, or quickly enough, its solidarity with the host countries. It is not really interested in their plight when the situation seriously deteriorates. Preventive action is essential. Unfortunately, all too often it is inadequate.

I will now address the return of refugees, which is an important criterion of the genuine success of a peace process and the return to normality. An example is the situation in the western Balkans. Progress has been made. Unfortunately, it is still highly inadequate. The number and pace of return of refugees, particularly to minority areas, remain below what we had hoped for. This shows that peaceful coexistence and the taking root of multi-ethnic democracy have not yet reached the point at which all refugees can return safely to their homes. Need we recall that there are still almost 500,000 Serb refugees in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? The return of the Serb refugees to Kosovo, in particular, would certainly be a tangible sign of the durable abating of tensions and attainment of the entire international community's objective of building a peaceful, democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo. Let us hope that the political changes in Belgrade will make it possible to speed up the return to normalcy in this region of Europe, which has been so badly battered.

My last comment relates to the safety of humanitarian personnel. Like Ambassador Cunningham, I should like to emphasize the importance that France attaches to this issue. Given the nature of the conflicts and the fact that refugees are turned into the instruments of conflict, all too often humanitarian personnel become targets, because humanitarian action is simply viewed by the belligerent parties as thwarting their political and military objectives. The murder of three staff members of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees (UNHCR) in West Timor in September, and that of one UNHCR worker in Guinea, are a new and brutal illustration of this.

The international community's determination to oppose these crimes must be total. The guilty must by tracked down and punished by the local authorities, when they are willing and able, or by other, international means, which will include, in the future, the International Criminal Court.

Mr. Listre (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mrs. Ogata's leadership at the head of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) will come to an end in a few days' time. Her work has been crowned with success. Argentina would like to express its profound gratitude to her for all of her energy, dedication and skill and for the efficiency with which she has carried out this task. The quality of the work of UNHCR personnel is one of the greatest concrete benefits that the United Nations can offer to humanity today.

I should like to comment on a specific theme closely related to the protection of refugees. I refer to the security of humanitarian personnel — a subject with which Mrs. Ogata also dealt in her statement, and one that has been mentioned by the other speakers, especially the representatives of the United States and of France.

The work of UNHCR, like that of all those involved in carrying out international functions in the field, has always entailed risks — sometimes great risks. Unfortunately, at present these risks are greater than before, because those who provide humanitarian assistance are increasingly being identified as targets by warring factions in a large number of current conflicts. We continue to see United Nations personnel fall in the line of duty as they attempt to bring aid to those who need it. On 6 September last, three new victims from UNHCR were added to the long list of the fallen. We would like to pay tribute to those innocent victims and express our condolences to their families.

It is clear to us that providing adequate protection to United Nations and associated personnel is a priority. As one of the largest troop-contributing countries and a leader of the humanitarian aid initiative known as the "White Helmets", the Argentine Republic is very much involved in providing such protection. That is why Argentina invited members to hold an open debate on this question when we presided over the Security Council in February this year.

We support the immediate adoption of the transitional budgetary measures suggested by the Secretary-General in his recent report (A/55/494) on the security of United Nations personnel. Those measures aim to meet the most immediate needs to bolster the security of personnel of the United Nations system in the biennium 2000-2001. At the same time, we commit ourselves to giving due consideration to the proposals that the Secretary-General will present to establish a stable financial structure for the security of United Nations personnel starting in the biennium 2002-2003.

The report mentions the trust fund for the security of United Nations system personnel, which was created last year, and points out that, unfortunately, contributions have so far been meagre. Our country has made a commitment to contribute to this fund. We reiterate this commitment, and we urge other States to try to make contributions to the fund.

Another aspect that we must address, in parallel with the practical measures proposed, is the improvement of legal instruments for the security of personnel. The entry into force of the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court, an instrument that my country will shortly ratify, will be a significant step forward for the defence of personnel.

Above all, it is essential to focus our attention on the 1994 Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel, which entered into force early last year, and now has 45 States parties. Our country supported the development of this instrument from its inception, because it is one of the principal norms for legal protection for personnel.

Efforts must urgently continue to ensure that those countries in which humanitarian or other assistance missions are being carried out respect the legal standards that are in full conformity with the 1994 Convention and do everything within their power to become parties to the Convention. The States Members of the United Nations must continue to work so that all mission personnel working in the field or carrying out humanitarian assistance tasks are fully protected.

The General Assembly has asked the Secretary-General to present a report on the legal situation of

United Nations and associated personnel and, in particular, to examine the scope of the application of the 1994 Convention and propose alternative measures to improve the coverage afforded by its provisions. We understand that the Secretary-General will present the report very soon, and we should like to thank him in advance for his work and the ideas that he will propose.

Our country will continue to honour our commitment to ensuring the protection of personnel. We will examine with an open mind all the proposals of the Secretary-General and work actively for the adoption of any measure that will prevent and prosecute any systematic aggressive acts against United Nations personnel, associated personnel and humanitarian personnel, such as those staff members of UNHCR who, unfortunately, suffered in the recent past.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): My delegation has listened very carefully to the briefing of this Council by the High Commissioner, and I pay a sincere and very warm tribute to the energetic way in which she has headed the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) over a very difficult period. Behind that tribute lies huge United Kingdom respect and admiration for the courage and selflessness of the whole UNHCR team, whose security, in particular, is of continuing concern to us.

Mrs. Ogata has presided over UNHCR through a decade of enormous change and growth, both in UNHCR itself and the United Nations system as a whole. Dealing with refugees has always attracted the highest public profile, and it is a sad fact of life that UNHCR is more likely to be blamed when things go wrong than given credit for a job well done against the odds.

The year 2000 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of UNHCR. Its key aim of providing international protection to refugees remains as relevant now as it was in 1950. I think it is particularly fitting that we should be meeting under your presidency, Sir, when it is the Netherlands that provided the first, and has now provided the next, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

But the issue of internally displaced persons is now just as much in the spotlight. Internally displaced persons now outnumber traditional refugees. There is agreement that this is not an issue on which UNHCR should act as the lead agency, but we do look to it to play a prominent role in relieving the plight of internally displaced persons, who suffer as much as traditional refugees.

The United Kingdom welcomes the global consultations exercise on which the UNHCR has embarked, the aim of which is to revitalize the international protection regime and to discuss measures to ensure international protection for all who need it. As leading donors and supporters of UNHCR, we in the United Kingdom look forward to taking a full and constructive part in the next stages of the process, and we take careful note of the warnings Mrs. Ogata has given us today on the funding aspects of the whole process.

Sadly, this is Mrs. Ogata's last appearance before the Security Council. She has witnessed the steady expansion, in her time as High Commissioner, of the Council's humanitarian agenda. We are now finally tackling, perhaps, the challenges in the Brahimi report and, on a wider basis, those of coordinating peacekeeping, human rights and the humanitarian and development aspects of the United Nations work — challenges which she has constantly kept before our eyes and which she has again today enjoined us to address with energy.

I would just like to pick up a couple of points from her address to us today.

The first is West Africa and her focus on Sierra Leone and across the borders from Sierra Leone. We take very much to heart — as did the Security Council mission to the region — the security as well as the humanitarian aspects of that flow of refugees. We will look very closely at the proposal she has made — quite a brave proposal against the background of the traditional approach of the United Nations to peacekeeping, but one which we have to take seriously in this Council.

It is against that background that I would like to inform her, as well as colleagues on the Council who have not yet heard the news, that there is an agreement today between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), signed in Abuja, for a ceasefire over the next 30 days, in which the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has played a leading part, as we enjoined it to do on our mission.

My delegation will pass out copies of this agreement to members of the Council — it is going by fax now. I would just point out to the Council that the ceasefire is for 30 days, and that it is agreed, among other things, that the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) should be deployed to the diamond areas, and that the two parties should immediately recommence the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programme, upon which Mrs. Ogata put her finger in a more general sense in her address to us this afternoon.

There is a further clause that ensures access for humanitarian agencies to refugees and displaced persons and to those who need humanitarian assistance, so it is an agreement which we have welcomed from London this afternoon. But we will have to look very carefully at its implementation, because we cannot yet trust the RUF to live up to all aspects of what has been agreed in this particular document.

The DDR aspects are what Mrs. Ogata has been talking to us about this afternoon and are extremely important. We endorse what she has said about a stronger focus on reintegration. We have seen this in Sierra Leone. We have seen the way in which it has not worked in other peacekeeping operations, and it is something we should return to not just in the Security Council but in other agencies and in other parts of the United Nations system. It is something to which the World Bank and other donors must pay close attention. There is no point in two Ds without the R, and it is the R that is particularly lacking in addressing the concerns which particularly affect UNHCR.

I conclude by again thanking Mrs. Ogata for her great achievements and wishing her well in her future.

Mr. Karev (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): First of all, allow me to express our respect for, and gratitude to, Mrs. Ogata for her enormous contribution to the cause of the protection of refugees, for her many years of cooperation with our country, and for the assistance which the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), under her leadership, has been rendering Russia in the area of migration.

I wish to convey to her our sincere gratitude for those efforts and for the zeal which she has been demonstrating in resolving the most complex of issues. In her, the United Nations system and the international community have an example of an outstanding woman leader — a wise, staunch and humane individual. I hope that, even after she leaves the post of High Commissioner, she will continue, through her authority and influence, to exert a positive impact on that cause to which she has given 10 years of her life.

It has fallen to the lot of the UNHCR within this period to deal with such humanitarian crises, unprecedented in terms of scale and accompanied by a mass exodus of people, as those in the former Yugoslavia, in particular in Kosovo; western Africa; Afghanistan; East Timor; and many other places. Almost always, within the framework of what was possible, the UNHCR found adequate solutions. Moreover, in addition to doing the enormous amount of work necessary to eliminate the consequences of emergency humanitarian situations and to strengthen the regime of international protection of refugees, the UNHCR was able to take on the comprehensive and far-reaching questions of peace-building, post-conflict reconstruction, the stabilization of States and assistance to their long-term development, within the framework of the "Brookings Process".

A recent source of special satisfaction for us is the level of cooperation achieved between Russia and the UNHCR. The mutual understanding, trust and openness which have characterized relations between our country and the UNHCR have facilitated the implementation of even the most complex programmes. We should like to note the particular contribution of the UNHCR to the preparation and implementation of the decisions of the 1996 Geneva Regional Conference on problems of migration in the Commonwealth of Independent States. We hope that under a new leadership the problem of forced migration in the region of the Commonwealth of Independent States will remain one of the high-priority areas on the agenda of the UNHCR.

We agree with the assessment of the High Commissioner that the UNHCR, on the threshold of its fiftieth anniversary, is at a turning point. There are new challenges before us, and there is a need to find adequate answers to them. Here we welcome the initiative of the High Commissioner to organize global consultations in order to strengthen the regime of international protection and unswerving compliance with the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.

Persons who genuinely need international support must be the focus of the joint efforts of States, international organizations and civil society. Naturally, each category of migrants, depending on their legal status, requires a specific approach.

At this turning point, the international community must focus on making maximum use of the existing potential, above all through an improved coordination of action between humanitarian agencies and by strengthening their interaction with the affected States. Moreover, here a prerequisite for international humanitarian activity must be strict compliance by all organizations with the fundamental principles of non-interference in internal affairs, neutrality, impartiality and humane action.

Our practice of cooperation with the UNHCR is a superb example of precisely such interaction. Attempts to cast doubt on these principles, to erode them through the use of new elements, no matter what supposedly humane considerations may motivate them, can lead only to the growth of mistrust and the emergence of additional problems.

We are doubly concerned by the alarming trend of increased deliberate attacks with the use of violence, including murder, on United Nations staff and associated personnel during the performance of their duties. Our delegation has expressed its sincere condolences on the deaths of UNHCR staff members during field operations during recent times. The question of security, of both the refugees themselves and of United Nations humanitarian personnel, must remain a focus of our attention.

In conclusion, we would like once again to emphasize our support for UNHCR and to express the hope that its new leadership will maintain continuity and will just as successfully continue to achieve the complex objectives facing that organization.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): Allow me, on behalf of the Jamaican delegation, to thank the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, for her very comprehensive briefing, in which she has certainly given us food for thought.

We wish to take this opportunity to commend Mrs. Ogata for her leadership of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and to recognize her unwavering commitment and service to the international community during a very complicated and often difficult decade in which the global population of concern to UNHCR has grown to some 22.3 million persons.

We have observed the humanitarian crises and the mass movements of populations in the former Yugoslav republics, in Kosovo, in the Great Lakes region of Africa, in West Africa, in the Horn of Africa, in East Timor and in Afghanistan, to name but a few. It is a tribute to Mrs. Ogata's leadership and part of her legacy that in all these tumultuous times UNHCR was there, faithfully executing its mandate in seeking to provide international protection to refugees and other persons of concern and in seeking permanent solutions by assisting Governments to facilitate voluntary repatriation and/or assimilation into new communities. It is in this context that I wish to congratulate the UNHCR in advance on its fiftieth anniversary.

My delegation recognizes that the task facing UNHCR is a mammoth one. As Mrs. Ogata has said on previous occasions, "Solutions to refugee problems take time." At this time, my delegation wishes to highlight a few areas to which the United Nations as a whole, and the Security Council in particular, must devote greater attention, with the ultimate aim of enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations humanitarian activities.

First, we attach importance to the strengthening of UNHCR's emergency preparedness and response capability. As Mrs. Ogata has indicated, UNHCR is now focusing on upgrading its capacity to address refugee emergencies at short notice.

Secondly, we see the need for an intensification of efforts to guarantee the safety of humanitarian and associated personnel. Only recently we were saddened at the murders of three UNHCR staff in West Timor and another in Guinea. We maintain that if humanitarian personnel are unable to discharge their duties in an environment free from fear and intimidation, then their efforts will come to nought.

Thirdly, the 1994 Convention on the Protection of United Nations and Associated Personnel provides a backdrop for humanitarian work. While States have the primary responsibility to protect and provide for civilians in their territory and to ensure the safe, unimpeded access of humanitarian workers to civilians in need, the Security Council has a role to play in helping to create an environment for such assistance.

There must be collaboration on the ground between peacekeepers and humanitarian agencies.

We recognize also, as Mrs. Ogata pointed out, that security partnerships are important in order to create a better security environment, and we agree that this is an essential, if complex task. We will recall that the Council recognized the critical importance of the protection of humanitarian personnel during the debates that we held in February and March. The Council must now convert its words into action.

Fourthly, my delegation agrees, as Mrs. Ogata so aptly stated to the Council in its debate in January, that

> "humanitarian action alone will not be able to solve any of the problems leading to forced human displacement." (*S/PV.4089, p. 6*)

The Security Council therefore has a definitive role in preventing, containing and resolving conflicts. We agree that by taking firm positions and supporting decisively, rapidly and substantively the follow-up to peace agreements, and by promoting the mobilization of resources for reconstruction and peace-building, the Council will have made its contribution to averting and stemming humanitarian crises. We must work towards this goal or render ourselves incapable of discharging the mandate for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Fifthly, the United Nations system must work towards devising mechanisms to effectively and equitably address the protection of displaced populations, whether displaced within their own countries or as refugees. The international community must find a way to better help those countries that open their borders to vast numbers of refugees, often at tremendous economic and social costs.

Mrs. Ogata gave us a vivid example of the humanitarian situation in West Africa as a result of the Sierra Leone crisis, as well as the resulting humanitarian crisis. These have to be dealt with in a regional context. This was, as Sir Jeremy Greenstock pointed out, forcefully brought to the attention of the recent Security Council mission to West Africa.

Sixthly, the continued implementation of a targeted strategy for the advancement of refugee women and the mainstreaming of a gender equity perspective must remain a priority. We recognize the work being done to incorporate this in several key training packages and field guidelines. The priorities aimed at mainstreaming children's issues into UNHCR's overall protection and assistance activities, as well as increased emphasis on an inter-agency approach, require continued action within the context of the Council's activities related to children and armed conflict.

In addition, the formulated policy on older refugees, which was endorsed in February of this year, is particularly welcome, as is the project, Imagine Coexistence, which seeks to promote coexistence in divided communities. We have noted the pilot projects destined for Bosnia and Rwanda.

The point made by Mrs. Ogata regarding disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is an important one, and we agree that these programmes require effective action by the Council in collaboration with the humanitarian agencies.

The debate this afternoon must serve as a solid basis for the Security Council to intensify its cooperation and collaboration with UNHCR. We are faced with grim reminders as we witness humanitarian catastrophes, burgeoning crises and staggering human costs. Millions of people continue to be uprooted by conflict and are exposed to extreme hardship, violence and death. It is our collective responsibility to help them. We know that solutions are difficult, but we must be clear and decisive in our actions to help those affected.

In conclusion, I wish again, on behalf of my delegation, to thank Mrs. Ogata for her outstanding contribution and for the inspiration she has provided. We wish her every success in her future endeavours.

Mr. Ayari (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I would like to welcome Mrs. Ogata, the High Commissioner for Refugees, and thank her for her exhaustive and instructive statement on the activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). I hope that the presence here of Mrs. Ogata, who has admirably served the refugees for long years, will contribute to even further raising the international community's awareness of the tragedy of refugees throughout the world and prompt it to undertake new efforts on their behalf

The tragic plight experienced by millions of refugees and displaced persons throughout the world is a source of great and constant concern and demands the attention of all of us — in particular since the problem

of refugees is expanding and becoming ever-more complex. The exodus of civilian populations stricken by conflicts can indeed seriously endanger peace and international security. Moreover, and in the light of its transborder nature, the problem of refugees has serious regional ramifications and is a threat to peace and stability for neighbouring countries affected by the displacement of refugees.

Tunisia, which adheres to the major international legal instruments on the protection of refugees — and in particular to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees — would like to express its solidarity regarding refugees and displaced persons, and in particular the most vulnerable of them, namely women, children and the elderly, who are often exploited by the warring parties.

We would also like to voice our appreciation of the role played by international organizations and the competent bodies and organs of the United Nations for the protection and assistance to refugees. In particular we would like to express our gratitude to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the tireless efforts it has been making under the professional leadership of Mrs. Ogata to alleviate the refugee crisis. In this regard we subscribe to the proposal that has just been made by the High Commissioner in her statement.

While new emergency situations are continuing to arise, UNHCR finds itself confronted with a chronic lack of resources. Here we would like to emphasize the critical need for financing for humanitarian activities. The international community, and in particular the donor countries, must provide UNHCR appropriate political and material support to allow it to carry out its mandate effectively.

We welcome the fact that UNHCR has been able to organize the return of a great number of refugees. Relocating refugees in third countries and integrating them in the host countries are also solutions for many refugees. Here we would like to express our gratitude to those countries that have opened their doors to thousands of refugees in a spirit of solidarity and hospitality and that are continuing to grant protection, aid and assistance to these refugees. We urge the international community to come to the assistance of these host countries, in particular in Africa. These countries are themselves confronted with serious socio-economic problems as well as by pressures linked to the environment.

Tunisia remains convinced that a resolution of the problem of refugees and of the mass and forced displacement of populations lies in the elimination of their underlying causes. This means in particular the elimination of extreme poverty; rectifying the deterioration of the socio-economic situation in several regions of the world; and addressing the proliferation of deadly conflicts, internal and ethnic wars, and massive violations of human rights. In particular there is a need to work to eliminate the underlying causes of conflicts which are the source of the problem of refugees and of massive displacements of populations with their humanitarian consequences. It is then up to the international community to make the necessary political and financial efforts for post-conflict reconstruction.

International attention has often been focused on those humanitarian crises that are the most telegenic, while other crises that have taken place — particularly in Africa — have not benefited from similar attention.

The issue of refugees remains of great concern in Africa. Dealing responsibly with the humanitarian situation today represents a major challenge for the international community as a whole and in particular for the Africans. In this context we fully subscribe to the proposals as well as to the recommendations contained respectively in the reports of the Secretary-General and of the Working Group on the causes of conflict in Africa, and we urge the international community and the competent bodies of the United Nations system to assist in the implementation of these recommendations regarding measures to be undertaken to find adequate solutions to the problems of refugees, repatriated persons and displaced persons in Africa.

We believe, however, that humanitarian assistance and the carrying out of humanitarian assistance activities must absolutely abide by the principles of strict respect for the sovereignty of States, their political independence and their territorial integrity and of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international humanitarian law.

Finally, I would like to conclude by reiterating to Mrs. Ogata our gratitude and our thanks for having succeeded in making the problem of refugees among the highest priorities of the international community. I

would also like to pay her a well-deserved tribute for the tremendous volume of work she has done for refugees during her tenure as the head of UNHCR, and to wish her every success in her future activities. I would also, finally, like to take this opportunity to renew our warm congratulations to her successor, Mr. Ruud Lubbers, and wish him all success in carrying out his mandate.

Mr. Ahmed (Bangladesh): Let me begin by extending the warmest welcome to Mrs. Sadako Ogata, who is in our midst, and paying a special tribute to her for her outstanding contribution to the cause of the protection of refugees worldwide. Over the past decade Mrs. Ogata has led the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with exemplary commitment and determination. The global community is indeed indebted to you, Mrs. Ogata.

Bangladesh believes that the root causes of conflict need to be addressed in order to arrive at a permanent solution to the refugee problems that result from conflicts and that also contribute to the continuation and aggravation of conflict situations. We underline the need for taking into full account the special needs of refugee women, children, the elderly and the disabled. These groups constitute the overwhelming majority of those who are innocent victims of conflicts.

Bangladesh has always underscored the need for a balanced and shared response in dealing with global refugee situations. It is also important that equal attention be paid to all refugee situations and that the international response not be guided solely by the media spotlight.

My delegation strongly believes in reaching an international consensus on the need for burden-sharing with countries hosting refugee populations. It is a fact that developing countries continue to bear a lopsided share of global refugee caseloads. Often the countries hosting refugees are among the poorest. Many of them are in the process of post-conflict rebuilding. It is critical, therefore, that burden-sharing not be limited solely to the provision of direct assistance to refugees. It must also include assistance for host countries in dealing with the negative impacts of refugee inflows on the infrastructure, ecology and overall economy.

We would like to emphasize particularly that protracted refugee situations should not be relegated to the back burner. Such situations should continue to receive the attention of the international community, and UNHCR should remain fully engaged in dealing with those situations as well.

Given the complex nature of humanitarian situations, effective and coherent partnerships between UNHCR and the relevant United Nations agencies, intergovernmental organizations and civil society — including non-governmental organizations — are relevant to an integrated approach to achieving lasting solutions. UNHCR, an agency that is largely dependent of voluntary contributions, needs to be strengthened with consistent and adequate financial flows so it can meet the demands placed on it.

Finally, we would like to stress the need for putting in place necessary safeguards to strengthen the security and safety of humanitarian workers. The recent incidents in Guinea and East Timor do not augur well for our efforts to strengthen measures to accord such protection. The Council is urged to address its thoughts further on the matter.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation wishes to express its appreciation to you, Sir, for arranging this meeting, and we wish to express our gratitude to Mrs. Ogata for the briefing.

In the past 10 years, in her capacity as High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata has made positive efforts for resolving refugee problems the world over. These have won her the highest acclaim from the international community. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our gratitude for her contribution.

Mrs. Ogata has informed us in this briefing, as well as in previous ones, of the serious situation of refugees and internally displaced persons in different parts of the world. She has mentioned the need for protection of humanitarian personnel. In particular, she has noted the link between United Nations peacekeeping operations and the question of refugees, including the direct impact of refugees on countries in the regions concerned. This has also been duly noted by the Security Council mission to West Africa. Our consideration of the Brahimi report has also touched upon such issues.

Over recent years, the Security Council has adopted a number of resolutions and presidential statements on the protection of humanitarian personnel,

and, in particular, in January of this year it adopted a presidential statement on the protection of United Nations and related staff and humanitarian personnel. It is necessary for the Security Council, while striving to strengthen peacekeeping operations, to make a further study in greater depth on the strengthening of coordination among United Nations bodies in an integrated approach to security issues. The real solution, in a fundamental sense, of the refugee problems lies in the prevention and early settlement of disputes and conflicts. As the organ which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council has an unshirkable duty in this regard.

In the context of the Security Council, special mention must be made of African refugees. Over a long period of time, as a result of war and natural disasters, Africa has consistently been the continent with the greatest number of refugees and internally displaced persons. I wish to recall here that Mrs. Ogata gave a special briefing on African refugees to the Security Council; in response, many countries urged the international community to accord equal treatment to refugees in different parts of the world and to increase assistance to African refugees so as to help alleviate their very serious humanitarian situation at an early date. Let us all hope that the international community will continue to make efforts in this regard.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) *(spoke in French)*: Mrs. Ogata, my delegation welcomes this opportunity — unfortunately, for the last time — for the Security Council to engage in a substantive dialogue with you. We are grateful for your tireless and determined advocacy on behalf of refugees and other war-affected populations. You have spoken eloquently and thoughtfully of the challenges facing refugees and humanitarian organizations in countries which are on the Security Council's agenda — and of those countries which were not but perhaps should have been.

Each and every time you have briefed the Security Council, Mrs. Ogata, you have always been straightforward in your assessments. Like you, Madam High Commissioner, I am disappointed to say that, despite some significant successes over the last 10 years, in a great many instances durable solutions remain elusive for a large number of refugees.

(spoke in English)

We must express our gratitude to those States, such as, for example, Tanzania, Guinea, Iran and Pakistan, which continue to provide much needed refuge. While the parties to conflict which precipitated the initial displacement retain paramount responsibility, the Security Council has also been complicit, at times, in failing to engage fully in addressing the political dynamics of crises before they reached disastrous humanitarian proportions.

In recent months, some positive steps have been taken by the Security Council. We are trying to learn "the lessons learned". But, as noted by the High Commissioner, we can and must do better. As she pointed out, the implementation of recommendations of the Brahimi report will help. The Security Council is making excellent progress, I am happy to report, on this score, thanks to the Chairmanship of Ambassador Ward of Jamaica. The General Assembly must do no less. There will be no development without security.

Furthermore, as Member States, we must do a better job in facilitating the transition from conflict to development, nurturing both reconstruction and, as the High Commissioner has put it, "coexistence". I would welcome her views on how the Security Council might be more sensitive to these questions, particularly in the design of peace support mandates. In this regard, I took note with interest of her proposal that peacekeepers be given cross-border mandates in circumstances where refugees are endangered.

In praising High Commissioner Ogata's efforts, we also commend the work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) staff world wide. Their courage and commitment, increasingly at great risk to their lives, have enabled vulnerable populations to gain access to protection and material assistance. The safety of United Nations and other humanitarian personnel, and the environments in refugee camps, are priority issues for Canada and for all members of this Council. Canada welcomes High Commissioner Ogata's persistence in challenging the Security Council to deal with the question of refugee camp insecurity.

I would like to close by highlighting the interaction between humanitarian and military operations, as she has done. In the light of the recommendations of the Brahimi report, I would be most interested in the High Commissioner's assessment

of how the military can most effectively support humanitarian action.

Let me reiterate Canada's appreciation for the contribution Mrs. Sadako Ogata has made to the cause of refugees in these last 10 years, and to the search for international peace and security. Her courage, her perspicacity, her persistence and her humanity have set standards to which we all aspire. The world has been fortunate to have her service. We wish her all the best in her retirement from the Office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and we would ask her to pass on to her successor, Mr. Ruud Lubbers, the message that he can count on our support.

Mr. Mohammad Kamal (Malaysia): First and foremost, my delegation would like to thank Mrs. Sadako Ogata for her comprehensive, lucid and candid swan song briefing to the Council on the situation of refugees. My delegation has always benefited immensely from Mrs. Ogata's trenchant briefings, such as the one we heard this afternoon, and on other numerous occasions in this Council, particularly the most recent one, on 13 January 2000, on the refugee situation in Africa.

We are grateful for her overview on the refugee situation and concur with her perspicacious analysis of the problem, and we support her suggestions and proposals, such as those that we have just heard this afternoon on peace operations and peace-building. We hope this Council can act upon these proposals.

In this regard, Malaysia supports the strengthening of the emergency preparedness and response capacity of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to cope with refugee crises that need immediate action. We also support its efforts to create a secure environment for refugee-populated areas and humanitarian operations; among other things, there is a need for the refugees and combatants to be separated and the need to deploy international civilian monitors and police to ensure the safety and security of the refugees. The international community, too, must pay more attention to the critical post-conflict phase in which refugees need international assistance to resettle upon their return.

We agree with Mrs. Ogata that effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration will contribute to the creation of a safe environment for refugees returning home. Hence, there is a need for the Council to look once again at the issue of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, which was first brought before the Council during Malaysia's presidency in July last year.

Like others before me, my delegation would like to pay a sincere tribute to Mrs. Ogata for her outstanding services, dedication and unstinting commitment over the past decade to the elevation of the plight of refugees throughout the world, be it in Africa, Asia or the Balkans. We deeply appreciate her enormous contribution to millions of the world's most unfortunate people. She and her staff have indeed become a beacon of hope for those people.

We share the Secretary-General's sentiments that we all owe an enormous debt to Mrs. Ogata and that we have all got so used to working with her that she will be very, very hard to replace. We wish her the very best, good health and success in her future endeavours. My delegation would like to take this opportunity also to congratulate Mrs. Ogata's successor, Mr. Ruud Lubbers, the former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, and to wish him all the best in his future challenging undertakings.

Finally, I should like to recall a statement made by Mr. Samuel Johnson way back in 1759, in which he said that "great works are performed not by strength, but by perseverance". That is how we would like to remember Mrs. Sadako Ogata.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I should like to associate myself with the unanimous tribute that has been paid to Mrs. Ogata, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who has devoted herself profoundly to the cause of refugees, in particular in Africa, over the past 10 years. I take this opportunity to reiterate the gratitude of the Government of Mali to her for efforts to assist and ease the return and reintegration of refugees in northern Mali.

I should also like to thank Mrs. Ogata for her important statement containing useful recommendations, based on her 10 years' experience and which merit the Council's full attention. The topicality of her recommendations has given us food for thought about humanitarian action and related problems, in particular about the resources available to us to halt the deterioration of the situation of populations in crisis.

In this regard, I should like to make a few comments. First, we feel that Mrs. Ogata was quite

right, in the light of recent conflicts and their tragic humanitarian consequences — and I do not refer here solely to conflicts in Africa — to underscore the relationship between humanitarian assistance and the maintenance of peace and security. We concur with the Brahimi report that emergency situations must be dealt with expeditiously, appropriately and in a coordinated manner.

Secondly, we agree with Mrs. Ogata that we must stress the need to ensure coordination and consistency between humanitarian activities and the more general activities of the United Nations to ensure peace and development. Indeed, humanitarian assistance must always be integrated into broader international efforts to find political solutions and peaceful resolutions to conflicts.

Thirdly, as Mrs. Ogata stated, we must, in accordance with the Secretary-General's recommendations, consider how to ensure respect for and strengthen the legal bases and principles of humanitarian action. In this regard, we believe that we must address problems that threaten the safety of humanitarian personnel, in particular by implementing measures based on international humanitarian law that could also include education in democracy and human rights. Vigorous measures must be taken against those who deliberately attack humanitarian personnel.

It is also important that those who commit acts of aggression against humanitarian personnel and violate international humanitarian law be brought to justice. The International Criminal Court must carry out its task of ensuring that States, non-state actors and individuals be made to bear responsibility for their acts. My country has signed and ratified the Court's Statute and we urge other States to do likewise.

In conclusion, I should like to convey my best wishes to Mr. Ruud Lubbers, Mrs. Ogata's successor. We offer him our congratulations and full support as he carries out his assigned duties.

Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine): My delegation is pleased to see Mrs. Sadako Ogata addressing this Council once again, though sadly, for the last time.

I would like to express our gratitude to the High Commissioner for her briefing. Her statement reaffirms our conviction that the refugee problem is complex and urgent from a humanitarian standpoint and from the perspective of providing protection and that this problem can be solved only when Governments are committed and resources are available.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) can carry out its mandate only if States fulfil their obligations. The backing of the international community, both in financial terms and in summoning up the political will, is essential for UNHCR to be able to address the causes of mass displacement, to provide international protection and to contribute to durable solutions to refugee problems and sustainable peace.

Mrs. Ogata once again highlighted the essential role of the Security Council in solving the problems leading to forced human displacements by taking a clear, strong and united position; by supporting more decisively, rapidly and substantively the follow-up to peace agreements; and by promoting the mobilization of resources for reconstruction and peace-building.

Her briefing was, as usual, thought-provoking and the proposals she made deserve serious study. For example, I think that the Security Council should take a serious look at the proposal with regard to an expanded concept of peacekeeping, as she put it, addressing in particular the problem of cross-border flows of refugees. As Ambassador Greenstock pointed out, the members of the Security Council mission to West Africa witnessed for themselves the acuteness of this problem.

We are convinced that States should work with UNHCR to adopt and improve the comprehensive approaches needed to address refugee crises by creating, inter alia, a stronger relationship between relevant actors of the humanitarian system, better linkages between humanitarian assistance and development cooperation, and an enhanced relationship between States, civil society and the refugees themselves.

It is also essential to create a secure environment for refugee-populated areas and for humanitarian operations. The tragic incidents last September involving UNHCR personnel in West Timor and in Guinea were painful reminders of the serious safety and security risks with which humanitarian workers must live. Ensuring the safety of humanitarian personnel surely falls within the solemn obligations of the international community, and of the Security Council in particular. As one of the initiators of the 1994 Convention on the Safety and Security of United

Nations and Associated Personnel, we could not agree more with the observations in that regard made by Ambassador Listre of Argentina.

These are all issues for future discussion and consideration, and for careful work. Now, as we speak, the Third Committee of the General Assembly is considering a number of important draft resolution on the questions of refugees, returnees and displaced persons, and on the activities of UNHCR. Among them are decisions on the fiftieth anniversary of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and on World Refugee Day.

My delegation takes this opportunity to commend the staff of the Office and their implementing partners for the competent, courageous and dedicated manner in which over the past 50 years they have discharged their responsibilities: to provide protection and assistance to refugees and other persons of concern and to promote lasting solutions to their problems. In their operations, people from UNHCR have helped a total of roughly 50 million refugees to salvage and restart their lives, in some cases paying with their own lives.

Our special sincere gratitude goes to Mrs. Sadako Ogata for her unrelenting efforts, throughout her tenure as High Commissioner for Refugees, to promote innovative humanitarian solutions to refugee problems in various part of the world and for her inspiring example in performing her functions. Her tenure coincided with one of the most turbulent periods in UNHCR's history and included such major emergencies as the aftermath of the Gulf war, the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, the African Great Lakes crisis, Kosovo, East Timor and many others.

We very much appreciate her courageous efforts, and we hope that her successor, Professor Ruud Lubbers, whose nomination we warmly welcome, will continue the important activities of the High Commissioner for Refugees in the same effective manner. I hope that he too will be a frequent guest of the Security Council.

Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi (Namibia): I would like to thank Mrs. Ogata for her briefing. For 10 years, she and her staff have done magnificent work on behalf of millions of women, children and men who have lost their identities and are now known merely as refugees or internally displaced persons. We have witnessed an increase in the number of conflicts; as a result, the number of the people to whom I have referred has also increased. This was indeed a challenging period for Mrs. Ogata, but she met the challenge head-on. We applaud her tireless efforts and wish her the best in her future endeavours.

Those whom the staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) seek to help have become a weapon of war. Over the past months, deliberate attacks on humanitarian workers have occurred. It is thus essential to preserve a safe environment to enable humanitarian workers to reach those in need. In this regard, States must carry out their obligation to protect humanitarian personnel. Those who attack humanitarian personnel must be brought to justice.

Many factors have an impact on the situation of refugees and of humanitarian workers. The easy availability of the small arms and light weapons that fuel armed conflict is a major factor. It is therefore essential that arms-producing countries exercise restraint and ensure that the arms they produce do not reach the areas in question.

Without downplaying the severity of the situation of all refugees and internally displaced persons, I wish to place particular emphasis on the situation of women and girl refugees. That group of civilians have special needs that require special attention.

Despite the continuing efforts of UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies, the refugee population has not decreased.

My delegation notes that internally displaced persons do not necessarily draw the attention of the international community, but that their situation is just as critical as that of refugees.

It is imperative that we all work together to ensure that conflict does not occur. In that way, we avoid an increase in the number of the people about whom we are speaking today. We wish to emphasize the need for the international community to support post-conflict peace-building activities where conflicts have taken place, by assisting countries in their reconciliation and economic reconstruction efforts, which will ensure long-term security. In her briefing, Mrs. Ogata did a good job of discussing that issue.

We have noted the shortfall in funding for humanitarian activities, and we call on the donor community to provide the funding required to enable

UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies to bring relief to civilians in need.

In her briefing, Mrs. Ogata raised many important issues and made concrete proposals. I believe that those proposals are timely as the Council considers, inter alia, the report (S/2000/809) of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, on which she also touched. My colleague from the United States delegation referred in his statement to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), on women and peace and security. In our view, the study to be undertaken in accordance with one provision of that resolution needs to take into account some of the issues that Mrs. Ogata raised today. For our part, we shall study Mrs. Ogata's briefing notes for maximal use in relevant forums.

When we were commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of UNHCR, Mrs. Ogata said, among other things, that there was really nothing to celebrate, because we do not need refugees or internally displaced persons in the first place. None the less, my delegation would like to thank Mrs. Ogata for having placed herself at the service of those who needed her. Her successor, High Commissioner-elect Ruud Lubbers, hails from a country — your country, Mr. President — with a long and outstanding record on humanitarian assistance. My delegation looks forward to working with him.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

As the representative of the Netherlands, I join all previous speakers in their praise of Mrs. Ogata. It is also in that connection that I wish to thank those speakers, including Mrs. Ogata herself, who spoke kind words about Ruud Lubbers, the High Commissioner-elect.

Mrs. Ogata has spoken in her briefing of the continually widening gap in time between the beginning of humanitarian activities and that of peace operations. She reminded us how, as a result, there were places in the world where unarmed humanitarian workers were on their own in dangerous and isolated duty stations.

The problem of the security of humanitarian workers, however, cannot be solved solely through the establishment of peace operations, no matter how successful we may be in streamlining that part of our work through the Brahimi exercise.

My delegation is of the view that all governments have a responsibility to provide a safe environment for humanitarian workers. That should be the first focus. Where effective authority is lacking, the international community has a duty to contribute to adequate security arrangements. That should be the second focus. In this regard I call on all Member States to follow our example and contribute to the Trust Fund for Security of United Nations personnel.

Owing to a lack of alternatives UNHCR has been forced to too often to continue its activities in the grey zone between humanitarian relief and structural assistance. Bridging that gap requires coordinated exit/entry strategies on the part of aid organizations, but also more flexible implementation of procedures and processes on the donor side. Our ultimate aim should be a fully integrated approach to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict peace-building.

I now resume my function as President of the Council and I shall call on Mrs. Ogata to respond to the various comments and questions.

Mrs. Ogata (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees): I would like to start by thanking representatives for their very warm expressions of appreciation for the work that my Office has done, including myself. This is always a very encouraging recognition that I always try to pass on to my colleagues who are really spread out all over the world.

I am also pleased to note that some of the points I made in my briefing have been responded to with the promise that the Council will be looking into them further and also that there was some recognition that my comments will serve as food for thought.

I was particularly pleased to receive some response on the question of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) — a matter I would really like the Council to examine further and on which I have received assurances from several delegations — because we cannot take care of disarmament and demobilization. It is necessary to have police or military personnel to disarm people who are armed and we cannot do this. Even with funding from the World Bank for disarmament and demobilization, the persons who carry out this task would have to be people who know that they have to be

armed, so that they can disarm. It is on that basis that the next step of reintegration will require civil society involvement and the involvement of humanitarian and development agencies. We should be ready to take this on much more quickly, but I think that this division of responsibility is something on which I would like further clarification.

I do not think it will be possible for cross-border mandates for peace to take effect soon. However, I think that some of the delegations who have visited West Africa in particular, will have noted how impossible it is to contain fighting and to stop the fighting from moving across borders, and will understand the importance of trying to look at the border situation.

I am fully aware that no peacekeeping forces can be deployed along the entire 1,000 kilometre border of any country. But geography is a very important factor. There are points through which refugees flee and it is in those places, for example in Guinea it would be mainly in two areas — in the west in Forecariah and in the eastern part in the Gueckedou area — where the refugees have gone and I think these are the places where more focused observer missions might make a big difference, as has been seen in Zaire. That, then, is the thinking behind my plea , almost, to look at border areas, which would help not only refugees but prevent insecurity from spreading.

The third point is about the ladders of option. I have been talking about ladders of option for establishing the security of refugee settlements, as well as security for the humanitarian workers. I would like to emphasize that we should look first at the local level and at how local police and law enforcement capacity can be strengthened. This is where assistance to develop local capacity is the primary, preliminary step and then sometimes it becomes necessary to move on to regional or subregional arrangements. In this area many States are now helping in regional military training and so on. This is very welcome and then, at the very end, as a last resort, international help is forthcoming.

In my Office we have studied the ladders of option together with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and have constructed and strengthened our emergency services unit. We were concentrating on our own strengthening of emergency services so that I do not think that we have really contacted Governments that have offered to enter into partnership through various stand-by arrangements. But I think we have now identified areas where we clearly need stand-by arrangements and support and it is in this sense that we will be contacting Governments that have already expressed their readiness, whether in humanitarian security staff, logistic support or readiness of various kinds. We would like to come back to the Council much more systematically and I think we would be able to do that towards the end of the year. I hope we will get practical responses, because no organization should maintain, or can maintain, large standing capacity. It is really through stand-by arrangements that I think we will be able to be more effective. The timing gap is a problem and I agree that it is not just the peacekeepers or the humanitarian workers that can maintain stability. This is a very complex question, but I would still like to say that we need peacekeepers or observers to come in quickly.

I appreciated that several delegations noted the importance of funding and I did not mention funding here. I was referring more to peace and security management. However, peace and security, staff security, all require money and this is where I would like to appeal to the Council. We have arrived at the fourth quarter with a deficit. A shortfall of $140 million is foreseen, which means we really have to cut back. Whether it is in the refugee programmes or our own deployment of very important and necessary staff, we have to cut down.

For example, I was in Afghanistan recently. I would like to mention this serious situation, as the world's largest group of refugees is still the Afghans. Some 2.5 million have been in Pakistan and Iran for a long time, almost 20 years. The burden, as the delegate of Bangladesh mentioned, is very heavy on both the Governments and people of Pakistan and Iran. Yet, the situation inside Afghanistan is such that it is not so easy to promote return. However, in both countries I have seen Afghan refugees lining up, wanting to be helped to return.

There also I need resources. It is a small amount for an initial reintegration package that we would like to give them. Afghans are wonderful organizers of transport and they can manage the transportation, but we still have to have money to give them. With these funds there would be many more ready to go back. Of course, there are many other conditions, such as human rights, girls' and women's education, and so forth. But

people do want to go back. We know how we can organize this. I have talked with the authorities of Afghanistan too, but we need funds. This is what I wanted to add to our appeal, and perhaps from the peace and security point of view, you could also underscore the need for funds, if we are to have peace and security and the resolution of refugee problems.

I am very grateful for the opportunity you have given me and your assurance of continued support to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The President: I thank Mrs. Ogata for the clarifications and answers she has provided.

As this has been Mrs. Ogata's last briefing to the Council, I should like to conclude by expressing our collective deep appreciation for all she has done to safeguard the rights and the well-being of refugees, and for the way that she has contributed through her work to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4220

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4220th meeting

Monday, 13 November 2000, 12.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Miss Moglia
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Shahril Effendi
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mrs. Ashipala-Musavyi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Ensuring an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security

> Letter dated 10 November 2000 from the Chairman of the Security Council Working Group on the Brahimi Report addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/1084).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-74371 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Ensuring an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security

Letter dated 10 November 2000 from the Chairman of the Security Council Working Group on the Brahimi Report addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2000/1084)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the letter dated 10 November 2000 from the Chairman of the Security Council Working Group on the Brahimi Report addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/2000/1084. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2000/1085, which contains the text of the draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/2000/1081, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, China, France, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1327 (2000).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): The effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping has been the object of much scrutiny in recent years. Indeed, over the past year, four reports have been presented by the Secretary-General — namely, his report on the fall of Srebrenica, two reports on the genocide in Rwanda and, most recently, the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, the Brahimi Report.

All of these speak eloquently to the successes and failures of United Nations peacekeeping. We are reminded also that if we do not commit ourselves to vital reforms highlighted in these reports, there is a real risk that we will continue to fail to meet the challenge of saving the innocent from the scourge of war.

We realize only too well that swift action on the key recommendations of the Brahimi Report is imperative if we wish to seize the present momentum. My delegation therefore wishes to pay tribute to Ambassador Brahimi and the members of the Panel for the excellent quality of the analysis and the recommendations in the report.

It was against this background that my delegation welcomed the establishment in early October of the Security Council Working Group on the Brahimi Report. The Working Group was tasked with undertaking a full examination of those recommendations in the report that fall within the purview of the Security Council.

I wish to express the Jamaican delegation's appreciation, on behalf of the Chairman of the Working Group, Ambassador Curtis Ward, for the cooperation received from the Council members and from the Secretariat in enabling the Group to reach a speedy and successful outcome.

The resolution just adopted by the Council presents no elements of surprise, as it encapsulates many of the key issues with which the Security Council has grappled in recent years, given the paradigm shift in the nature of peacekeeping operations. No longer is the traditional concept of classical peacekeeping applicable to the current realities. In most cases, peacekeeping has become more multidimensional, addressing complex issues ranging from disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants to

institution-building, civil administration, policing and rebuilding the administrative structures of a post-conflict society. The cases of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor and the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone clearly attest to this.

At this time I wish to take the opportunity to underscore some of the key elements in the resolution. First, my delegation supports the consensus that clear, credible and realistic mandates must be given and that the Security Council needs to be more scrupulous in this regard.

Secondly, the mandate of a peacekeeping mission should ensure that peacekeepers, once deployed, are capable of defending themselves and are able to carry out their mandates professionally.

Thirdly, the call for regular consultations between troop-contributing countries and the Security Council is an essential component, especially prior to the definition of a peacekeeping mandate. Access to military technical briefings by the Secretariat should also play an instructive role prior to the formulation of a peacekeeping mission. The use of private meetings between potential and current troop contributors before and after the establishment of a peacekeeping mission is a step which my delegation believes should be pursued in earnest. As past experience has shown, the lack of consultations can lead to misunderstandings about the mandate of a mission and its implementation.

Fourthly, my delegation wholeheartedly supports the movement towards cooperation and coordination between regional and subregional organizations and the United Nations from an early stage of negotiations. This, we believe, will facilitate a clearer understanding between the parties of, inter alia, the political objectives, the practicality of the tasks assigned and compliance with the rules and principles of international law. There has been a measure of success in this area, and my delegation believes that this should be encouraged.

Conflict prevention is another aspect to which my delegation attaches importance. As was indicated during the open debate in July on the prevention of armed conflict, the United Nations must manage a comprehensive and coordinated strategy to address the root causes of conflict; and, in this regard, early warning, preventive deployment, preventive disarmament and post-conflict peace-building are interdependent and complementary components of a conflict prevention strategy.

We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General which is to be presented to the Council in May 2001.

My delegation welcomes the reference in the resolution to the need to mainstream a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and the mechanisms to do so. This had been overlooked in the Brahimi Report, but has been included in the report of the Secretary-General on the report's implementation. In this regard, the resolution calls for the full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), adopted by the Council on 31 October. We expect the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to work with the Special Adviser of the Secretary-General on Gender Issues to ensure, inter alia, the early establishment of gender units where appropriate, in Headquarters as well as in the field. Member States must also be provided with training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and particular needs of women in conflict situations, as well as on the importance of involving women in all stages of peacekeeping and peace-building.

I wish to highlight three other issues: first, my delegation agrees with the Brahimi Panel that an effective public information strategy in mission areas is an essential operational necessity for virtually all United Nations peace operations. It is therefore essential that, in the implementation of the Brahimi Report, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Public Information collaborate in the development of adequate information strategies and in ensuring the assignment of personnel required in the very first days of a peacekeeping mission.

The next issue to which my delegation attaches importance is the issue of training. Given the complex challenges of peacekeeping, it has become imperative that peacekeepers be adequately trained and equipped for their mission. Not only should peacekeepers be technically prepared, but special emphasis should also be placed on promoting cultural sensitivity to societies undergoing conflict situations. Equally important is the need for a systematic approach to training for civilian police.

Also, my delegation wishes to emphasize that there are many developing countries that are willing to

provide troops, but that lack the necessary equipment and training. We recognize that some progress has been made in assisting troop-contributing developing countries, but we believe that much more can be done, and we wish to work with the members of the Council in ensuring that this provides an adequate incentive for involvement in peacekeeping.

Finally, my delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his report and for the implementation plan. This is evidence of the need for us to take speedy action to translate the words of the Brahimi Report into tangible deeds and we wish to work with the members of the Council and the General Assembly in ensuring that this report does not become a dead letter.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): Today, the Security Council takes a critical step forward with the adoption of this resolution implementing the Brahimi Report's core recommendations relating to the Council's work. This reflects two months of hard work by the Council's Working Group, under the extraordinary leadership and determination of Ambassador Curtis Ward of Jamaica, and we want to congratulate him and his colleagues.

One cannot overestimate the importance of today's actions. Since 1948, there have been 53 United Nations peacekeeping operations in nearly all corners of the world. Thirty-five of those occurred in the past decade; 15 are currently under way, including the "big five and a half": Kosovo, Congo, Sierra Leone, East Timor, Ethiopia/Eritrea and the doubling of the force in South Lebanon. These are all major operations that did not exist just 14 months ago. This year more than ever, we have reaffirmed our commitment to peace and security in Africa and have mandated three new operations there.

There is no doubt that United Nations peacekeeping remains at the core of this institution's responsibility. Whether peacekeeping succeeds or fails will be the ultimate standard by which the world will judge the United Nations. That is because, for all of the important things the United Nations system does around the world — from the work of the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations Development Programme to the World Health Organization — everyone looks to this Organization to keep the peace.

Last September, at the Millennium Summit, leader after leader reiterated the critical importance of peacekeeping and, at our historical Security Council Summit, we renewed our commitment to peacekeeping and re-energized our resolve to making it work efficiently and effectively. This Council demands a great deal from its peacekeeping operations. We have placed demands on the United Nations to conduct complex, difficult and dangerous operations projected to cost over $3 billion this year. Our ability to send a strong political message today will be seen as the test of whether our professed commitment to United Nations peacekeeping and to the people who depend on it is genuine and enduring.

We all know that the United Nations most challenging and important operations face desperate shortfalls in terms of troops, equipment and training; and we all know, as the Brahimi Report so vividly illustrated, that the capacity of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to plan effectively, to manage and to backstop peacekeeping is severely inadequate. Unless we move decisively, those who threaten peacekeepers across the globe may draw the conclusion that the United Nations lacks the will, cohesion and even the capability to perform this basic function. Unless we move decisively, peacekeeping — the core function of the United Nations — will fail.

Ambassador Holbrooke has often noted that the crisis between capacity and demand is a train wreck waiting to happen. This is still true. There are two strands to the peacekeeping reform effort that must be addressed simultaneously: the way the Department of Peacekeeping Operations works and the way we finance peacekeeping operations.

On financing, we are pursuing important work in the Fifth Committee and elsewhere to make the peacekeeping scale fairer, up-to-date and equitable. We are making progress, though slowly, but I am confident that we will find a fair solution this year. The other question is how to fix peacekeeping operations. The Secretary-General's Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, led so ably by Ambassador Brahimi, provides a practical blueprint of how to do that. The report reminds us that United Nations peacekeeping, perhaps more than any other United Nations function, works only when all relevant actors join together with common purpose. So it is just that simple. We must all work together and we must all do our fair share. Unless we all share the political will to make

peacekeeping succeed, no amount of structural changes will make much difference.

The resolution before us sends a clear message that the Security Council is ready to do its part. We have taken many important decisions in this document, all of which share a common thread — that saving peacekeeping is a common responsibility, one that depends on all of us working together. In particular, today's resolution provides the roadmap for us to fulfil our responsibility to produce clear, credible and achievable mandates that reflect both the realities on the ground and the availability of resources. The Council is already implementing a pledge to improve consultations with troop-contributing countries. This is at the very heart of this roadmap and will be a key to our success, as will our determination that our mandates be based on frank, accurate and detailed advice. Once we have decided to send peacekeepers on a mission, this resolution underscores the need for them to be able to act and react when necessary to ensure that they carry out the mission's goals successfully.

We have said time and again that rapid deployment of a peacekeeping operation is essential, and today we have given concrete meaning to this oft-cited aspiration by calling upon all relevant parties to strive to meet specific timelines and by welcoming the Brahimi proposals on improving the United Nations rapid deployment capacity, including through the standby arrangements system.

Still, we must do more. The Secretary-General realized this when he took the initiative to convene the Brahimi Panel. Now he has shown real leadership and determination by presenting a practical implementation plan and a compelling case for an emergency resource request to put Brahimi's recommendations into action. We have an obligation to respond positively. At a minimum, we should ensure that the resources the United Nations needs — in particular to plan, support and manage its vital military, civilian police and operational functions for peacekeeping — are on-stream by the end of the year.

There can be no doubt that the task before us is as difficult as it is important. Progress is possible only if we do more than make speeches. For people in areas of conflict, it is often the difference between life and death. The longer the United Nations fails to live up to its potential and allows peacekeeping shortcomings to go unfixed, the longer innocents will suffer and the greater danger that controllable conflict will become entrenched crisis, with even higher risks and costs to the international community.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): It is responsible on the part of the Security Council to be able to take action on the Brahimi Panel report within a reasonable period of time. The working group of the Council deserves our full appreciation for its diligent work. Our special thanks go to Ambassador Curtis Ward for his able leadership in presenting us with a well-articulated text. The broad agreement reached on the recommendations demonstrates our collective commitment to setting United Nations peace operations right.

We have just adopted a resolution which will have far-reaching implications. My delegation would have preferred to make this statement before the action on the resolution. However, we believe that it was the consensus to have the statements afterwards. The text annexed to this resolution contains critically important decisions affecting the future of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

We have noted many caveats and conditions in the text before us. Also, paragraphs have been inserted on peacekeeping doctrine and strategy. We have reservations on these new concepts, which require greater elaboration. Bangladesh strongly believes that the resolution should be supportive of United Nations peacekeeping operations, not an instrument putting constraints on Council action in the maintenance of peace and security.

We are happy that the Council resolves to give peacekeeping operations clear, credible and achievable mandates, as recommended in the Brahimi Report. First is the issue of clarity. The lack of clarity in the mandates is not because the Council has a dearth of linguistic aptitude; it is the result of what one may call the "tyranny of consensus". Faced with the choice between no action and a weak consensus, the Council has resorted to adopting dangerously ambiguous and unclear mandates. This has raised the expectations of civilians and parties, put peacekeepers in perilous situations and given rise to problems of command and control. We hope that, by adopting this resolution, the Council members will be able to avoid such mandates in future.

The second element is credibility. Credibility hinges on the deterrent capability of the forces we put on the ground. Credibility depends also on the commitment of all Member States, including the permanent members of the Council. The credibility of peacekeeping operations, not the geographical location of a given conflict situation, should be our common concern.

The third element is achievability. We believe that mandates should be realistic. But at the same time, realism should not mean abdication of the Council's responsibility. Its Charter responsibility should be upheld through action. We have to make the objective of peacekeeping achievable, not the other way around: the response of the Council should be as the situation demands.

We are happy that the Council recognizes the seriousness of the question of the commitment gap. The Brahimi Panel recommends keeping Council resolutions in draft form until a firm commitment of troops is available. In line with that recommendation, it has been agreed to give a planning mandate to the Secretary-General prior to authorizing any peacekeeping operation. Such an approach does not solve the problem of troop availability. We believe that the commitment gap is a substantive problem and hence cannot be solved by procedural adaptability or innovation.

Article 43 of the Charter provides that all Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call, armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage. Clearly, all Member States, the permanent members of the Council included, have a solemn obligation to provide, inter alia, troops for United Nations peacekeeping operations.

As the report of the Independent Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda — the Carlsson report — (S/1999/1257, annex) puts starkly before the conscience of the international community, the Secretary-General could not gather in two months of canvassing more than 550 troops: one tenth of the authorized strength for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR II). The report states that some countries showed a willingness to contribute but lacked equipment and financing.

We have been putting emphasis on the need to have well-equipped, well-trained and well-motivated troops for the success of peacekeeping operations. Our question is where these troops will come from unless all of us chip in. It is evident that the primary responsibility lies with the permanent members of the Security Council. It is only natural that the Member States that have the final say on any decision on a peacekeeping operation should assume responsibilities and obligations commensurate with their powers and prerogatives.

The withdrawal of Jordanian contingents from the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) prompted the Secretary-General to raise a very serious question. He asked,

> "Can the Council adopt resolutions that require us to deploy troops when those in the Council do nothing, particularly the major countries with large forces?" (*Press release SG/SM/7600, 25 October 2000*)

In recent years, the world has witnessed a downward trend in the involvement of their troops in United Nations peacekeeping operations. While the obligation applies irrespective of the geographical location of a given conflict, their absence in some of the major United Nations peacekeeping operations has been increasingly questioned. That trend should be arrested if we mean to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

It was with that aim in mind that Bangladesh proposed the inclusion of a paragraph addressing the commitment gap in the text the Council has just adopted. We proposed that the Council recognize that the contribution of troops by Member States possessing the greatest capacity and means, particularly permanent members of the Security Council, is critically important for bridging the commitment gap, facilitating rapid deployment and further increasing the operational effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping operations. In that context, we proposed that each of the permanent members agree to provide at least 5 per cent, or another agreed percentage, of the troops for each United Nations peacekeeping operation.

That symbolic contribution, besides enhancing operational capacity, would demonstrate that the united strength of the whole of the international community was behind each of the United Nations peacekeeping operations. The Bangladesh proposal reflects the views

of a significant portion of the broader membership of the Organization. Its adoption would have been good for the permanent members, for the people affected by wars and conflicts, and for United Nations peacekeeping as a whole.

Unfortunately, the proposal could not be included, in the face of opposition from the permanent members of the Council. The need for assumption of shared responsibility by all Member States, particularly by those with the greatest capacity and means, is recognized also in the implementation report of the Secretary-General. While we yielded for the sake of consensus, allowing adoption of the present resolution within a reasonable time, for us and many others the question remains outstanding.

Let me now turn briefly to the issue of Secretariat briefings. The Council must be able to take well-informed decisions. The Secretariat's advice should be based on an objective assessment of the situation. The briefings should take into account the evolving nature of issues and their relevance for appropriate action by the Council.

Bangladesh has strongly supported the emphasis on humanitarian briefings. While working on the Council debate on humanitarian action in March this year, we were reminded of the critical need for closer consultation between the political and peacekeeping departments of the Secretariat and the humanitarian offices and agencies.

The Carlsson report encouraged direct participation in the consultations of the whole by the High Commissioners for Refugees and for Human Rights and, when relevant, by United Nations funds and programmes. Regrettably, when Bangladesh proposed inclusion of that provision, it did not receive consensus. We hope, however, that all concerned have a clear understanding of what is expected of humanitarian briefings.

Briefings by the United Nations Military Adviser and by force commanders are a new addition. We commend Canada for its initiative in having the practice introduced. We have found such briefings extremely useful.

Beyond all the provisions on briefings, let us recall the Brahimi recommendation that "The Secretariat must tell the Security Council what it needs to know, not what it wants to hear" (*para. 64*). Indeed, the Secretariat should not make assumptions about the disposition of the Security Council until the 15 members have met and discussed a given situation.

The need for greater coordination among the various mission components is equally important. We saw the need for effective coordination in the field in Sierra Leone during our recent mission to the area.

Turning to the question of consultation with troop-contributing countries, let me say how strongly we are behind the decision to hold private meetings between the Council and troop-contributing countries at various stages of a peacekeeping operation: at the outset; during implementation; during change, renewal and completion of a mandate; and, in particular, in case of the rapid deterioration of a situation. Our understanding is that such meetings would be in the format used at the 4 October meeting on UNAMSIL. These consultations, whatever the provisions of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, should be neither traditional troop-contributors meetings nor private formal meetings in the Council Chamber. Rather, they should be in a format that allows a free exchange of views between Council members and troop-contributing countries, and they should include the necessary substantive briefings.

We are happy that the Council is renewing its commitment to enhancing the rapid deployment capacity of the United Nations and is supporting the standby arrangements system. For that purpose, appropriate machinery has to be set up in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

It is essential that the Council continue to place emphasis on conflict prevention. Addressing the root causes of conflicts is at the heart of maintaining international peace and security. Post-conflict peace-building should also get our fullest attention in the continuum of the process.

We welcome the focus on the protection of civilians, especially women and children as the most vulnerable. As the Prime Minister of Bangladesh underlined at the Security Council Summit, peace and security should be understood also in terms of human security.

The training of peacekeepers has justly received attention in our action. Training related to HIV/AIDS is of paramount importance. We also underline the importance of training regarding the gender

perspective, as called for in resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security. The lessons learned from East Timor and Kosovo should be studied in elaborating guidelines for future transitional administrations run by the United Nations.

Finally, we should recognize that the effective implementation of key decisions and recommendations, such as strengthening the capacity of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, will require additional resources. The Secretary-General has provided an assessment of the financial implications. While we will examine these, we believe we cannot make a serious commitment to implement the resolution while maintaining a cap on the budget of the United Nations. We also believe that the question of the peacekeeping scale of assessment, another area in the competence of the General Assembly, is relevant in the context of our action today. The current scale of assessment is an old one and needs urgent updating. The rate of reimbursement to the troop contributing countries, also adopted years ago, needs revision.

In conclusion, we wish to underline that the Council resolution today represents a follow-up of the historic second Summit of the Security Council. It is inspired by the solemn commitment of our heads of State and Government. We should ensure that the words in the text are translated into early action.

Mr. Doutriaux (France) *(spoke in French)*: The French delegation welcomes today's adoption by the Security Council of a resolution that reflects our commitment to strengthening the peacekeeping ability of the United Nations. We have taken a number of decisions today that will enable the Council to play its full role in implementing the significant recommendations in the Brahimi Report.

The Security Council has indeed a paramount role to play in maintaining international peace and security. Hence, its responsibility in implementing proposed reforms is essential. The work we have been successfully doing in this connection, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Ward, provides specific and new responses to the expectations outlined in the Brahimi Report.

In particular I wish to underline, in our work all that relates to the significant strengthening in Council consultations with troop-contributing countries — a process which must be employed and maintained throughout all phases of preparation and until the successful carrying out of the mandate assigned to any peacekeeping operation.

France will continue actively to contribute to peacekeeping operations, notably by despatching police officers, civilian and military experts and supporting the formation and equipping of battalions, mainly African, and in providing logistic and financial support. This contribution has in the past at times been dramatic. I have in mind the 65 French soldiers killed in the service of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia. My country has been, and will continue, to make contributions to other operations authorized by the Security Council, as applies to Bosnia and Kosovo today.

I would also mention that at the General Assembly last September, Mr. Vedrine, on behalf of the European Union, referred to European projects aimed at strengthening security and defence capabilities and crisis management capabilities, to be completed by 2003. Indeed, to date, the European Union has prepared security forces consisting of some 60,000 soldiers and 5000 police officers. These capabilities will in due course be made available under a United Nations peacekeeping mandate or any operation authorized by the Security Council.

Today the Security Council has, in our view, responded to the appeal made by the heads of State and Government at the recent Millennium Summit regarding the reforms called for in the Brahimi Report.

Mr. Duval (Canada): Allow me first to commend the Council's Working Group for a remarkable cooperative effort and constructive approach to a difficult task. I would like in particular to congratulate our Chairman, Ambassador Ward, whose skills, experience and wisdom enabled the group to produce a set of measures that will contribute significantly to strengthening the capacity of the United Nations and its Member States to carry out effective peace operations. The work achieved here today is also a validation of the Secretary-General's creation of the Panel, as well as of the efforts of the Panel itself. We once again commend both the Secretary-General for taking this initiative, and Ambassador Lakhdar Brahimi for producing such an excellent report.

The work we have accomplished gives substance to the high hopes that were expressed at the Millennium Summit. The Group's resolve to work towards a common, action-oriented goal enabled it to

discuss and develop a pragmatic and practical framework to improve the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations.

The annex of the resolution is our checklist of measures focused not only on politics and strategy, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, on operational and organizational areas of need. This encompasses mandates, doctrine, information analysis, rapid deployment, conflict prevention, peace-building and transitional civilian administration.

(*spoke in French*)

We would like to highlight some particular recommendations consistent with long-standing Canadian concerns. These include the need for clear and achievable mandates and matching mandates with appropriate resources and rapid deployment. We are gratified to note that these priorities are now addressed and that the document includes throughout provisions for protecting affected civilian populations.

Canada attaches particular importance to the Council's having consultations with troop and civilian police contributing countries at every stage of the development and evolution of a peacekeeping mission, as outlined in paragraphs 15 and 16 of the annex to the resolution. This is essential to ensuring the continued engagement of these nations at both the military and political levels. We also believe it to be vitally important that the Council receive timely military advice, when considering the establishment of a peacekeeping force, from those who are directly involved in the military dimension of a peacekeeping mission. We therefore welcome the call for regular military briefings from the Secretariat, the Force Commander or the Military Adviser.

In conclusion, Canada would like, once again, to thank the Working Group for their efforts in developing this comprehensive framework for peacekeeping, within which the Council will now work. These are the first and very important steps in implementing the report. We accordingly lend our full support to the resolution.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) *(spoke in Russian)*: Today the Security Council is concluding an important stage in its work. The Council has carefully considered recommendations that fall within its purview, recommendations contained in the report of the United Nations Panel on Peace Operations, that is the Brahimi Report. And so, one of the instructions given us from the Security Council meeting at the level of heads of State and Government at the recent Millennium Summit, has now been followed.

We would like to extend our special thanks to the Chairman of the Working Group of the Security Council established for this purpose, namely the Deputy Permanent Representative of Jamaica, Ambassador Curtis Ward, for his able and effective guidance of the work. We would also like to note the rather constructive approach shown by members of the Group in seeking generally accepted wordings. It is our expectation that the tone now set will prevail in further work in this area.

We think that the document will not only be a good guide for the Council's peacekeeping work, but will also be duly considered by Member States. It is significant that the Security Council has assumed the task of formulating clear and precise mandates and in-depth yet quick work on all issues related to preparing to deploy peacekeeping operations. The important role played by special Security Council missions to hot spots has been reaffirmed.

We believe that the provisions on the need for consultations with troop-contributing countries are clear evidence that the Council is ready to consider the views of States that make a real contribution to United Nations peace operations.

Now that the resolution on the Brahimi Report has been adopted, we enter an equally important stage of implementing the agreed decisions. This relates, inter alia, to the paragraph proposed by the Russian Federation, whereby the Security Council undertakes to consider using the Military Staff Committee as one of the means of enhancing the United Nations peacemaking capacity. We believe that this approach would maintain balance in the distribution of responsibilities between Member States and the United Nations Secretariat.

We believe that the relevant provisions of the Charter provide for a clear system for using the military and analytical potential of States that are members of the Security Council in various stages of peacekeeping activities. In this way, States will be able to exercise their right not only to take political decisions, but also to deal with military components, and countries that provide contingents, represented on the Security Council, will then be able to fully meet

their concerns. The Russian delegation will submit its views on this matter, and we expect that there will be further constructive discussion of them.

In conclusion, I reaffirm that we are prepared to participate fully in discussing and implementing the recommendations of the Brahimi Report.

Miss Moglia (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): We are taking part in decision-making at a decisive moment in the history of peacekeeping operations. The international community has recognized on many occasions that responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is a basic function of this Organization. Unfortunately, we have suffered from the weaknesses of a system that was not able to adjust to reality. On several occasions we have been overwhelmed by this reality. A new generation of conflicts found us poorly prepared to ensure peace and even forced us to try to establish it in truly adverse conditions.

We have learned from past experiences. The Secretary-General's initiative of convening a Panel of experts to examine the causes of these mistakes was wise. The Brahimi Report made an accurate diagnosis and formulated specific solutions to tangible problems.

The Security Council has responded. The resolution we have adopted today includes as an annex a document that is the outcome of extensive and in-depth deliberations of the Working Group established by the Council for that purpose. I wish to especially thank Ambassador Ward of Jamaica for his dedication and superb leadership of this Working Group.

We are aware that we are in the first stage of a long-term process. Just a few months ago, Argentina declared in this very Council that we should take advantage of the propitious political moment to make progress in improving the system of peacekeeping operations. Today we are delighted to see the first results of a common political will.

We are convinced that success in implementing the report is rooted in the will of Member States, which should be translated, for example, into a decision to provide the Organization with the human and financial resources necessary for it to fulfil its peacekeeping responsibility. Without a genuine commitment on the part of its Members, the United Nations will not be able to move forward in carrying out its principal functions under the Charter.

Convinced of this, Argentina has been involved in this process in the Security Council, as well as the General Assembly, through participation in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations.

Having said that, I wish to refer briefly to some recommendations to which my country attaches fundamental importance.

Peacekeeping is the responsibility of all. Lack of significant participation by Member States with a greater capability, in resources and means, could have a deterrent effect on the other troop-contributing countries, which often make great efforts to fulfil the commitments made to the Organization. All initiatives geared towards obtaining a stronger commitment from the most capable States is attractive to countries of moderate resources, such as mine, which could contemplate increasing or diversifying their participation under the protective umbrella of the former. Clearly, greater participation by these States will yield tangible improvements — for example, in logistical aspects and in security in the field.

We are pleased that the Council recognizes the importance of improving the existing mechanism for consultations with the troop-contributing countries and is to implement specific proposals in this regard. The message to this group of countries must be clear. We need to maintain an open line of mutual communication and to have interactive meetings where their concerns and interests can be expressed. Strengthening the consultation process implies, on the one hand, facilitating access to consultations, and, on the other, increasing the number of opportunities to hold them. We note with satisfaction that the document includes the idea that these consultations can also be held at the initiative of troop-contributors themselves and that consideration is being given to a wide range of opportunities to convene them.

The need for solid rules of engagement was, in our view, one of the most sensitive issues in drafting the document. Finally, we recognized that the general framework, the legal basis for actions to be taken in the field, stems from the very mandate of the mission. Once the mandate has been defined, the rules of engagement will be developed in accordance with its objectives, taking especially into account the particular circumstances of a given conflict.

We cannot avoid linking this question with the need to give United Nations forces a deterrence

capability that allows them to fulfil their missions. However, underlying this affirmation there are doubts.

In this context, we share the views expressed by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Guehenno, when he introduced his report to the Fourth Committee a few days ago. He said that peacekeeping means making peace, not war, but that there is a very fine line between peacekeeping based on a credible deterrent capability and making war. Under-Secretary-General Guehenno concluded that the challenge was to deploy operations with a credible capacity that remain faithful to the basic principles of peacekeeping.

The need for troops to be well equipped and trained is intrinsically linked to their deterrent capability. On several occasions, Argentina has reaffirmed that this is a key component that contributes to the success of any operation. The annex to the resolution stresses the importance of having the Member States take the steps necessary to ensure training for their troops and highlights the importance of international cooperation. I should like to recall that during the Millennium Summit my country made available to the United Nations our two existing training centres for military personnel and security forces. The possibility of having troops with uniform training standards will certainly improve the command of these forces on the ground and make it possible to optimize their effectiveness.

Finally, I should like to reaffirm our continuing concern about security conditions in the field. Unfortunately, recent events have shown us that personnel are facing increasingly dangerous situations. We need security provisions to be included at the planning stage of missions, and we support the recommendation in the annex to the resolution by which troop-contributing countries can ask for a private meeting with the Security Council in the event that an unexpected deterioration of conditions on the ground threatens the security of their troops.

During the Millennium Summit, President de la Rúa reaffirmed Argentina's commitment to continue participating in peacekeeping operations established by the Security Council. We hope that the political will that has made it possible for us to adopt this resolution will not disappear and that it will allow us to pursue this process so that the United Nations can enhance its credibility in carrying out this paramount function. For as long as this Organization can continue to ensure international peace and security, we will be working for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): In the interests of time, I shall abridge my remarks; the full text of my statement has been distributed.

The resolution that we have adopted today sets out a road map for the Council's work in the future, and three aspects of the annex are particularly important. First, it contains a commitment to getting peacekeeping mandates right — for instance, more regular briefings from the Military Adviser, an improved system of consultations with troop contributors and a greater United Nations involvement in the negotiation of peace accords, which are all essential.

Secondly, this resolution will lead to more effective peacekeeping operations once they are on the ground. A rapidly deployed and effectively configured mission can make an enormous difference in securing a fragile peace.

Thirdly, the document makes clear that our role in the maintenance of international peace and security cannot be narrowly defined. The United Nations must have recourse to a more effective set of tools in preventing conflict, and it must be able to put in place coordinated strategies to build peace once conflict is over.

This resolution is a first step. It sets out a series of practical measures in clear and precise terms. Ambassador Ward is to be congratulated on leading the Working Group to this excellent result. But this is just the beginning. We in the Security Council have a responsibility to ensure that the road map which this resolution represents is followed in our everyday work. The Security Council is only one of the partners that will need to take clear and decisive action if the Brahimi Report is to be properly implemented. Other organs of the United Nations, including the General Assembly itself, are already engaged and need to move quickly to the implementation stage.

Member States, including the United Kingdom, must look at their own internal procedures to ensure that troops and civilian police can be deployed rapidly and that they are well trained and equipped. The Secretary-General has already produced a plan of action for implementation in his areas of responsibility.

We are confident that he will take firm measures to ensure that procedures in the Secretariat are streamlined, that coordination is institutionalized and that the quality of support and advice that can be offered to the Council and to peacekeeping operations in the field is enhanced.

The Permanent Representative of Bangladesh referred earlier to his delegation's proposal to require the permanent members of the Security Council to contribute to every peacekeeping operation. His statement carried the implication that all permanent members fail to meet their responsibilities in respect of peacekeeping. I reject that implication. Over the past decade, the United Kingdom has been a leading contributor to peacekeeping operations, providing troops and police, as well as resources, in significant quantities, and initiating training activities among Member States, especially in Africa. We also devote huge resources, and sometimes British lives, to operations enforcing or supporting international peace and security in much more difficult circumstances than those of traditional peacekeeping operations. Our support for United Nations objectives in Sierra Leone is continuing evidence of that. We agree that those with the greatest capacity must contribute in proportion, and the United Kingdom does so.

The British Prime Minister told the Millennium Summit that the Brahimi Report was right and that it should be implemented within a 12-month time scale. We again congratulate the Panel on achieving a step change in our thinking. We should be clear that peacekeeping is a vital tool in the maintenance of international peace and security and an essential component in our wider and priority task of delivering sustainable development. In the interests of all, we must collectively ensure that we take the historic opportunity offered by the Brahimi Report to get peacekeeping working.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, I should like to thank Ambassador Ward of Jamaica, who successfully presided over the meetings of the Working Group and made unremitting efforts to achieve consensus on the draft resolution in the Working Group. Today, on the basis of the work of the Working Group, the Security Council has reached consensus on strengthening peacekeeping operations. This is an important first step in strengthening United Nations peacekeeping operations and lays down foundations for future actions. At present, there is a widespread call by Member States for the strengthening of United Nations peacekeeping operations. However, translating the consensus for strengthening United Nations peacekeeping operations into action will require us to take practical and solid measures, as will the attainment of the goals set out in the Millennium Declaration.

The success of United Nations peacekeeping operations depends, in the final analysis, on whether the vast membership of the United Nations is willing to make lasting political commitments and provide sufficient and dependable resources and support. Otherwise, talking about strengthening United Nations peacekeeping operations will ultimately be no more than empty words.

We have always supported effective measures to overcome the problems faced by peacekeeping operations and to improve and strengthen the capacity of United Nations peacekeeping so as to enable the Security Council to fulfil its responsibility of maintaining international peace and security more actively and effectively. For these reasons, we have given serious consideration to and actively supported, the relevant recommendations contained in the Brahimi Report. I sincerely hope that those recommendations that are realistic and feasible will be implemented as soon as possible.

However, we also recognize that that strengthening of United Nations peacekeeping operations is a process, and that many questions need to be further explored, not all of which can be fully resolved by one document, or even several. We are prepared to continue to work towards the strengthening of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Mr. Ben Mustapha (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I should like at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this meeting on the Brahimi Report on United Nations peacekeeping operations.

My delegation would like to pay tribute to Mr. Brahimi and to the members of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations for the important document they have crafted. This document has given rise to particular interest in the United Nations because of the importance of the topic it addresses, its useful assessment of peacekeeping operations, and the scope of the recommendations it contains to remedy the shortcomings in the present system and better meet the needs of peacekeeping operations.

The Security Council has set up a Working Group charged with examining those recommendations that fall within the purview of the Council. This consideration is part of a process of collective review undertaken within our Organization, in which the General Assembly and the Secretariat, each in keeping with its own responsibilities, are also participating.

I should like in this connection to express my delegation's deep appreciation to Ambassador Ward of Jamaica for the competence and determination he displayed in guiding the deliberations of the Working Group. The important document that the Security Council has just adopted is the result of great efforts undertaken in a spirit of cooperation and compromise.

I shall not comment on all of the provisions of this document, but I will make a few observations.

We would like first of all to emphasize how important it is, in our view, for peacekeeping operations to conform rigorously to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the political independence of States, as well as that of non-interference in internal affairs, is indispensable in the framework of efforts to promote international peace and security.

We share the view that strengthening the United Nations peacekeeping capacity requires, in addition to political will on the part of Member States, that improvements be made to their structure and management in order to adapt them to current realities and recent developments. The necessary resources also are required. Peacekeeping operations require a clear-cut mandate, objective and structures, as well as reliable methods of financing. Before withdrawing a mission, the United Nations must ensure that its objective has indeed been achieved.

Turning to the rapid deployment of peacekeeping operations, we must recognize that the United Nations has sometimes been slow to deploy. This slow pace has been interpreted by some as indicating an inability on its part to shoulder its responsibilities and meet its obligations in respect of certain conflicts. Others have accused the Organization of selectivity in handling conflicts, depending on the regions in which they occur. To avoid this kind of situation, equal priority should be given to the maintenance of international peace and security in every region of the world, as the Council reaffirmed in resolution 1318 (2000), adopted on 7 September at the level of heads of State or Government.

The resolution of problems related to insufficient numbers of troops and a lack of equipment for peacekeeping operations is obviously a fundamental issue in the context of the overall process. This is a collective responsibility incumbent upon all Member States, in particular those having greater means and capacities.

The Brahimi Panel has underlined the usefulness of institutionalizing consultations between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries. This recommendation is, in fact, one of the main requests by troop-contributing countries. Troop-contributing countries play an indispensable role in the implementation in the field of the mandates of the peacekeeping operations established by the Security Council. Past experience has shown the need to significantly enhance the quality of the consultations between the Council and those countries from the very outset of the planning stage, when new operations are being envisaged, as well as throughout the entire process. Close and meaningful consultations will improve the chances of success of these operations.

The Panel rightly recommends that more effective conflict prevention strategies be adopted. Indeed, prevention is today a top priority of the international community. We believe that unremitting attention must be paid to the deep-rooted causes of conflict, according to the specific characteristics of each case. This requires a comprehensive approach to which the organs of the United Nations should contribute in keeping with their prerogatives.

The Panel also very aptly underlines the importance of the elaboration of better peace-building strategies, because a lasting peace cannot be built if reconstruction efforts are not addressed as well. We share the conviction that peace and development are intimately linked. Poverty and underdevelopment are among the major causes of conflict, and therefore a greater commitment on the part of the international community to reduce poverty throughout the world and promote lasting development would represent not only a step towards conflict prevention but also a contribution to the consolidation of peace.

The work done by the Security Council on the Brahimi Report, which has led to the document we have just adopted, will undoubtedly represent an

important contribution by the Council to the collective efforts deployed within the United Nations in the quest for ways of strengthening our Organization's capacity in the field of peacekeeping operations.

Mr. Shahril Effendi (Malaysia): Malaysia fully shares the view that the Security Council should undertake a comprehensive review of the recommendations contained in the Brahimi Report on improving the role of the United Nations peace operations. In this regard, we wish to join previous speakers in commending the Security Council Working Group on the Brahimi Report, under the able guidance and solid stewardship of Ambassador Curtis Ward of Jamaica, for having completed its defined task in good time.

We hope that the adoption by the Council today of resolution 1327 (2000) will spur other organs and bodies of this Organization to likewise complete their deliberations on the areas under their purview as regards the recommendations of the Panel.

We agree that the Security Council must do its part to strengthen the United Nations peacekeeping operations. Peacekeeping operations today, unlike in the past, face a myriad of very different and difficult circumstances and challenges. In order to implement professionally and effectively Council decisions on such operations, we must endeavour to equip such missions with the necessary tools.

The current crisis in the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) is a glaring example of the urgent for all Member States, particularly those with the greatest capacity and means, to contribute troops to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Ways must be found, and found quickly, to breach the commitment gap.

Malaysia welcomes, among other things, the Council's commitment to strengthen significantly the existing system of consultations through the holding of private meetings with troop-contributing countries. We wish to see the early implementation of the decisions and recommendations contained in the annex to the resolution just adopted and support the Council's decision to review periodically the implementation of its provisions.

Mr. Krokhmal (Ukraine): My delegation believes that the Brahimi Report is a milestone in our common efforts to set United Nations peacekeeping right and to make it more effective in the context of a general reform of the United Nations. We pay tribute to all members of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and, personally, to Ambassador Brahimi.

The report is a comprehensive document that addresses most of the aspects of United Nations peacekeeping activities. It contains a valuable analysis of United Nations experience of past, as well as current, peacekeeping capabilities of the United Nations. Indeed, my delegation feels that most recommendations contained in the report are specific, realistic and practical ones. In this context, we appreciate the submission by the Secretary-General of the two follow-up reports, on the implementation of the Brahimi Report and on the resource requirements; we also found them quite helpful.

It is worth mentioning that a few months ago the United Nations, at its Millennium Summit and Security Council Summit, adopted two historic documents: the Millennium Declaration and Security Council resolution 1318 (2000). The Council may recall that, in its Millennium Declaration, the heads of State and Government expressed their resolve to make the United Nations more effective in maintaining peace and security by giving it the necessary resources to conduct its activities.

To underscore the fact that the history of United Nations peacekeeping has reached its turning point, we strongly believe that now it is important to have the recommendations and the conclusions outlined in the above documents properly implemented. It is in this light that we look at the resolution that we have just adopted and its annex. My delegation took part in working out the draft resolution and its annex, and we realize how difficult the task that the Council's Working Group had to deal with was. I would like to express appreciation to the members of the Council's Working Group and its Chairman, Ambassador Ward of Jamaica, for their job well done.

Allow me now to make a few comments on the clusters and paragraphs of the annex. Regarding clusters I and II, we fully support the provisions related to the Panel's recommendations to issue clearly defined, credible and achievable mandates for peacekeeping operations. This will certainly help peacekeepers to be able to carry out their tasks successfully and also to defend them and other mission components. Such mandates will make for a basis of

clear rules of engagement for United Nations peacekeeping forces.

My delegation believes that the recognition of the need to have an improved system of consultation between the Security Council and the Secretariat and troop contributors is a particularly important element of the resolution. We feel sure that such consultations will be of great use for all partners to have a better understanding of a situation on the ground and an operations mandate and also to strengthen coordination between them in fulfilling peacekeeping tasks.

My delegation upholds the position that the Council should consult with troop contributors and the Secretariat throughout all stages of peacekeeping operations, particularly if the security situation is deteriorating on the ground and might pose a threat for peacekeepers. We believe that such consultations should be convened at the request of troop contributors without prejudice to the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council. Against this background, we find it useful that consultations between the Security Council and troop contributors, through the use of private meetings, were held during the recent crisis in Sierra Leone. My delegation will be a strong supporter of any further steps to be made to ensure a more effective consultation mechanism and greater transparency in the Security Council decision-making process with regard to the conduct of peacekeeping operations.

As regards cluster IV, we welcome the further improvement of the rapid deployment capacity of the United Nations, through the standby arrangement system, as is provided for in the sixth paragraph of that cluster. Ukraine has been part of the system since 1997.

We also strongly support the provisions of clusters V and VI, on conflict prevention and peace-building, since they are very much in line with the proposal put forth by the President of Ukraine at the millennium Summit of the Security Council — that is, to develop a comprehensive United Nations strategy regarding conflict prevention on the basis of the large-scale use of preventive diplomacy and peace-building.

Bearing all this in mind, my delegation voted in favour of resolution 1327 (2000).

In conclusion, I would like to mention that peacekeeping is at the heart of Ukraine's contribution to the United Nations. Since we have been involved in United Nations peacekeeping efforts for more than eight years, it is from our own experience that we feel sure that the genuine reform of the United Nations peacekeeping mechanism is long overdue. We regard the adoption of today's resolution, aimed at the implementation of the recommendations of the Brahimi Report, as an important step towards achieving this goal. My delegation will continue contributing to this important work.

Mr. Kaxuxwena (Namibia): My delegation commends Ambassador Ward of Jamaica for his leadership of the Working Group, which led to the adoption of today's resolution in the Security Council.

At the Summit of the Security Council, the President of Namibia, Mr. Sam Nujoma, commended the report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and the recommendations therein. We therefore welcome the speedy consideration of the Brahimi Report system-wide. In the view of my delegation, the recommendations contained in the resolution adopted today give us an opportunity to take into account lessons learned in past and ongoing peace operations.

As per the Charter of the United Nations, peacekeeping operations are a collective and shared responsibility. While regional organizations have a role to play in peace and security, the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security rests with the Security Council. In this regard, the provision included in the resolution to strengthen the system of consultations with troop-contributing countries at all levels during the consideration of mandates is of paramount importance. My delegation also agrees with those who have emphasized clear and credible mandates.

We stress the need for rapid deployment and look forward to the findings by the Secretary-General on the modalities for achieving these objectives. Indeed, in maintaining international peace and security, our best guarantee is to tackle the root causes of conflict. Investing in the promotion of sustainable development is indispensable to peace and security.

The report further reaffirms the indispensable role that women play in conflict prevention and resolution and endorses fully mainstreaming a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations. The full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) is therefore crucial. We are pleased to note that in the implementation plan the

Secretary-General has recommended the creation of a gender unit in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

Mr. Keita (Mali) (*spoke in French*): Because of the lateness of the hour, I shall abridge my statement.

My delegation welcomes the Council's decision to give peacekeeping operations clear, credible and achievable mandates. As more than ever the new millennium should focus on the human person, the Security Council should make visible and easily understood a capacity to act so as to provide both deterrence and security.

I commend the approach in the Brahimi Report, which represents a milestone in this process that will indeed make the United Nations a credible force for peace. I also commend the work of the Group chaired by Ambassador Ward on the results that it achieved after intense negotiations. In this regard, we welcome the consensus that led to the adoption of the resolution on this issue. This consensus confirms once again the Council's commitment to peacekeeping.

My delegation encourages the development of global, integrated strategies to attack the root causes of conflicts, and particularly their economic, political and social dimensions. We welcome the initiative to more frequently deploy fact-finding missions to areas of tension as a quick means of preventing crises. At the same time, we believe that conflict-prevention measures should be undertaken in accordance with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

My delegation supports the principle of rapid deployment when the Council decides to take such action. In this regard, we encourage the Secretary-General, when planning and preparing for a peacekeeping operation, to take all necessary steps to facilitate such deployment.

Moreover, my delegation welcomes the strengthening of the existing system of consultations between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries. Cooperation between the Council and regional organizations should be strengthened. In this connection, I welcome the partnership that has been established between the Council and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in my region.

We believe that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes should be financed on the same basis as peacekeeping operations. It is essential to give peacekeeping forces training in human rights and in the habits and customs of the country where they are to serve.

We reaffirm the important role of women in conflict prevention and resolution and peace-building. In this regard, we call for the complete implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) of 31 October 2000.

Finally, Mali attaches special significance to the resolution that the Council has just adopted and calls for its strict implementation.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the Netherlands.

I join other delegations in commending Ambassador Ward of Jamaica for his effective chairmanship of the Security Council Working Group on the Brahimi Report.

By adopting the draft resolution submitted by the Working Group, the Security Council has sent a clear message that it is determined to do much better in the field of peacekeeping. In the context of the resolution, the Security Council has made two decisions which constitute major qualitative improvements and show that lessons are in fact being learned.

The first decision is the resolve of the Security Council to give peacekeeping operations clear, credible and achievable mandates. Such an undertaking means that potential troop-contributing countries will be able to decide on firmer grounds whether, and if so to what extent, to participate in a peacekeeping operation.

The second decision — very much related to the first — is to involve the troop-contributing countries in a more serious and structured way. In the annex to the resolution we have just adopted, specific mention is made of holding private meetings with troop-contributing countries, including at their request. Troop-contributing countries will from now on be consulted not only on the setting up of new peacekeeping operations, but also — and even more importantly — during the implementation phase, when a change in a peacekeeping mandate is being considered, or when a rapid deterioration of the situation on the ground threatens the safety and security of United Nations peacekeepers. This provision holds special appeal for my delegation,

because seven weeks from today the Netherlands will no longer be a member of the Security Council, but it will be an important troop-contributor.

My delegation believes that the Security Council has made all the right decisions that it could at this time, seizing the momentum created by the excellent Brahimi Report and the Security Council's summit meeting last September. As the Secretary-General has already begun implementing other recommendations in the Brahimi Report and has issued a report on this implementation, we now look forward to the support of the General Assembly, whose early decisions will underline the common responsibility of the United Nations and its Members for improving the role of the United Nations in peace operations.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4221

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4221st meeting

Tuesday, 14 November 2000, 3.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Moglia
	Bangladesh	Mr. Sorcar
	Canada	Mr. Angell
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Misran
	Mali	Mr. Toure
	Namibia	Mr. Uanivi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Cherif
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Stoffer

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/2000/1023).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-74608 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/2000/1023)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, document S/2000/1023.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, of 25 October 2000 (S/2000/1023).

"The Security Council welcomes the efforts by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to enhance contacts at all levels between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides, in close cooperation with the Russian Federation, in its capacity as facilitator, the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It notes with appreciation the expansion of such contacts, which resulted recently in a series of meetings and steps towards the implementation of concrete cooperation projects between the two sides. It notes the holding of the 11th session of the Coordinating Council and urges further reinvigoration of this mechanism. It welcomes the readiness of the Government of Ukraine to host the third meeting on confidence-building measures in Yalta at the end of November and notes the important contribution a successful conference held in a timely fashion would make to the peace process.

"The Security Council notes with deep concern, however, the continued failure of the parties to achieve a comprehensive political settlement, which includes a settlement of the political status of Abkhazia within the State of Georgia. It calls upon the parties, in particular the Abkhaz side, to undertake immediate efforts to move beyond the impasse and urges them to spare no efforts in order to achieve substantive progress without further delay. In this regard, it strongly supports the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, undertaken with the support of the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General, to address the issue of the future constitutional status of Abkhazia and, in particular, his intention to submit, in the near future, a draft paper containing proposals to the parties on the question of the distribution of competencies between Tbilisi and Sukhumi as a basis for meaningful negotiations on that issue.

"The Security Council calls upon the parties to agree upon and to take, in the nearest future, concrete steps towards implementing effective measures to guarantee the security of the refugees and internally displaced persons who exercise their unconditional right to return to their homes. In particular, the undefined and insecure status of spontaneous returnees to the Gali district is a matter that must be addressed urgently. The Council therefore urges the parties to engage in genuine negotiations to resolve concrete aspects of the matter and not to link this issue to political matters. In this regard, it joins the Secretary-General in encouraging the Abkhaz side to muster the requisite political will to resolve the problem of Georgian language education in the schools of the district, as well as to find the resources that those schools need, which the Secretary-General notes may affect directly the magnitude of the seasonal migration in the area.

"The Security Council welcomes the achievements reached within the framework of the policy implemented by the Government of Georgia, the United Nations Development Programme, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the World Bank, aimed at ensuring that the internally displaced persons enjoy their right to be treated in the same manner as all other Georgian citizens.

"The Security Council notes that the situation on the ground in the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) area of responsibility has remained generally calm although unstable during the reporting period. It welcomes all efforts which have been undertaken, in particular by the Special Representative, with a view to alleviating tensions and increasing confidence between the parties. It urges the parties to cooperate closely in combating crime and improving the work of their respective law enforcement agencies.

"The Security Council strongly condemns the murder of Mr. Zurab Achba, legal assistant to the United Nations Human Rights Office in Sukhumi, recalls the commitment of the Abkhaz side to keep UNOMIG fully informed on the course of the investigation into this crime, and urges the Abkhaz side to shed light on this matter. It also deplores abductions of United Nations and humanitarian personnel. In this context, the Council recalls the relevant principles contained in the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel adopted on 9 December 1994 and the statement of its President of 10 February 2000 (S/PRST/2000/4). It calls on the parties to refrain from any actions which could increase tensions on the ground and to ensure the safety of UNOMIG personnel.

"The Security Council welcomes the contribution that UNOMIG and the Collective Peacekeeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS Peacekeeping Force) continue to make in stabilizing the situation in the zone of conflict, notes that the working relationship between UNOMIG and the CIS Peacekeeping Force has remained close, and stresses the importance of continuing and increasingly active cooperation and coordination between them in the performance of their respective mandates. It calls on the parties to observe their obligations to prevent acts that violate the Moscow Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces of May 1994 (S/1994/583, annex I) and could pose a threat to the life and security of UNOMIG, CIS Peacekeeping Force and other international personnel."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2000/32.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.50 p.m.

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4222nd meeting

Tuesday, 14 November 2000, 3.55 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. van Walsum	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Moglia
	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	Canada	Mr. Angell
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Misran
	Mali	Mr. Toure
	Namibia	Mr. Uanivi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Cherif
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-74620 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Austria and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pfanzelter (Austria) and Mr. Mladenovic (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Guéhenno to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. I now give the floor to Mr. Guéhenno.

Mr. Guéhenno (*spoke in French*): With the Council's permission, I shall confine myself to reporting on the outcome of the most recent elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jacques Klein, may come to New York in December, at which time he will be able to meet with the Council himself.

On 11 November, the third general elections sin the signing of the Dayton Accord took place in Bos and Herzegovina under the supervision of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Euro (OSCE). Elections were held to the House Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Federation House of Representatives, the Natio Assembly of the Republika Srpska and various oth bodies. Some 2.5 million voters were registered vote — 1,335,032 in the Federation and 1,102,913 the Republika Srpska. They voted at 3,600 polli stations across the entire territory of Bosnia a Herzegovina, monitored by 760 internatio supervisors and 5,500 local monitors. Fi certification of the elections results is not expect before 17 November, the deadline for the receipt postal ballots.

Turning to the activities of the United Natio Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) duri the elections, the Mission helped monitor the detail security plans of the local police and oversaw th implementation during the elections. In general, t was done in an exemplary and professional manner. police officers from the International Police Task For (IPTF) received training on how to cooperate with t local police in this situation. Similar close cooperati was fostered — and took place — with the OSCE a with the Stabilization Force (SFOR). On election d IPTF officers made it clear to the local police th freedom of movement had to be ensured, that vot were not to be intimidated and that polling stations h to remain free of incidents that could disturb the pro conduct of the elections. As a result, the atmosphere the elections was relatively calm. That was a tribute the fine work of the IPTF and to the ability of the lo police to act professionally.

Voter turnout appears to have been somew higher than in the April municipal elections, when was 65 per cent. This time it has been estimated at per cent of registered voters. Turnout varied fr region to region within Bosnia. Estimated voter turn in the eastern Republika Srpska seems to have reach 80 per cent; that is expected to provide an additio boost for the Serb Democratic Party (SDS). Vo turnout is estimated to have been lower in the west Republika Srpska — about 50 per cent in Banja Lu Turnout among Bosnian Croats varied, although have indications that it was fairly high in the west p of Mostar and the Posavina canton, but lower in

Livno, West Herzegovina and Herzegovina-Neretva cantons.

A number of irregularities occurred. The main one, of course, was the Bosnian Croat "referendum", to which I shall return later. Apart from that, other irregularities appear to have taken place in Srebrenica, where some double voting was noted, coordinated by the local branch of the SDS, and possible intimidation of some voters by an SDS official, who had in fact been barred from public office. The OSCE will draw the double voting to the attention of the Elections Appeals Subcommission to seek corrective action. Other complaints and incidents of which we were informed were relatively minor.

(*spoke in English*)

I would now like to turn to the situation in the Federation, on the one hand, and in the Republika Srpska, on the other.

In the Federation, as I just mentioned, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) carried out the Bosnian Croat so-called referendum despite a warning from the OSCE Provisional Election Commission that it considers the expression of opinion to be a party activity subject to its rules and regulations. The HDZ failed to provide OSCE with a list of the locations for the referendum polling stations, of which there were 389, placed beyond 50 meters from election polling stations. The case has now been submitted to the Elections Appeal Sub-Commission for adjudication. Barring unforeseen developments, it is not expected that the holding of the so-called referendum will result in the invalidation of the elections.

The rhetoric of the President of the HDZ, Mr. Jelavic, has intensified. After the polls closed, he announced that HDZ was victorious, which, he claimed, signals the end of the missions of the OSCE, the Office of the High Representative and UNMIBH. He also added that the Bosnian Croats no longer recognized the administration of the international community because it wanted to transform Bosnia and Herzegovina "from a State of three equal nations into a State without the Croat people." Jelavic claimed that 70 per cent of Bosnian Croats voted overwhelmingly for the HDZ.

Though support for the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) is shrinking, preliminary results show that the party may not suffer the dramatic decline that some had expected. Gains by the Social Democratic Party (SDP) may not be as high as they were in the municipal elections, and the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH) may have experienced a strong boost in support. It appears likely that Silajdzic will play an important role as a coalition broker in many parts of the Federation — particularly in Sarajevo — and in the Federal institutions.

In the Republika Srpska, even though 80 per cent of voters stated prior to the elections that they were mostly concerned about economic issues, the Serb Democratic Party, which did not put forth an economic programme, stands to make great gains. This reflects the disillusionment of Republika Srpska voters with the performance of Prime Minister Dodik. Though the SDS is expected to have a strong showing in the Republika Srpska National Assembly, it is not expected to win an absolute majority. The Party of Democratic Progress (PDP) will again play a pivotal role. Its President, Mr. Ivanic, is a strong candidate to be the next Republika Srpska Prime Minister. Ivanic has openly precluded cooperation with Silajdzic's SBiH.

What conclusions should we draw from these results? Well, it had been hoped that this third set of general elections since Dayton would produce local political authorities who would work constructively to consolidate a sovereign and multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. Regrettably, that has not yet been fully achieved. On the positive side, the multi-ethnic SDP polled well, but not as well as many in the international community had hoped. Smaller parties such as the PDP and the SBiH also gained ground and will certainly occupy a pivotal position as brokers and king-makers, although in neither case is their true political orientation clearly known. The Croat opposition parties — the New Croat Initiative (NHI) and the Croatian Peasants Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HSS) survived.

As a counterpart to that not-as-good-as-expected performance of the SDP, the traditional nationalist parties have done better than expected. In the Federation, the SDA remains a potent political force, which nonetheless will go through a period of internal reform that may see it adopt an even more conservative posture. The HDZ has managed to consolidate its supporters, and also the supporters of more right-wing parties, under a banner of fierce criticism and open defiance of the international community. The High Representative and the OSCE are currently considering

taking measures against President Jelavic in view of his defiance.

In the Republika Srpska, the SDS is indeed buoyant with its victory. It has run a campaign of not antagonizing the international community through nationalist rhetoric. It remains to be seen whether that approach will continue after the elections. Perhaps more significant is the closer alignment now between the likely Republika Srpska Government and the new Government in Yugoslavia.

The priority for the Office of the High Representative and the OSCE is now to convene the elected legislative bodies. This will enable the cantonal assemblies to elect the Federation House of Peoples, which will in turn elect members of the Bosnia and Herzegovina House of Peoples. The Republika Srpska National Assembly must also form a new Government and elect members of the Bosnia and Herzegovina House of Peoples. These processes are complex and will take time, though hopefully not the six months it took following the last general elections, in 1998.

The President: I thank Mr. Guéhenno for his detailed briefing.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I want to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his excellent briefing.

We welcome reports that this election was free and fair, apart from some disturbing incidents in Srebrenica and the illegal campaign activity by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

We are encouraged by the early results in the Federation that show slow and steady progress for their moderate, multi-ethnic parties, which continue to improve their position at the expense of nationalist parties. It appears that the influence of the hard-line parties in the Federation has continued to decline, as we have seen in each successive election in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1996.

Unfortunately, though, it appears that the results in the Republika Srpska are more disappointing, although that was not unexpected. The Serb Democratic Party (SDS), which has expressed its virulent opposition to the Dayton accords since 1995, appears to have won the presidency of the Republika Srpska. The situation in the Republika Srpska Assembly, however, is more mixed and important decisions remain to be made about governing coalitions. We will continue to urge that obstructionists be kept out of the Government.

We have reports of illegal campaign activity by the SDS in Srebrenica. This only reinforces our belief that the SDS continues to be controlled by those who are committed to seeing Dayton fail. We hope that over time the political situation in the Republika Srpska will change. It will take time for the Republika Srpska to recover from the scars of Milosevic's years of propaganda and mischief-making.

The dramatic political changes in the region over the past months bode well over the long term, but we will have to continue to work for further progress. In the meantime, as we try to take best advantage of the inexorable larger trends in the region, we cannot allow Dayton implementation to be blocked by obstructionists and undermined by corrupt elements working behind the scenes. It is critically important for the High Representative and the international community to be prepared to act forcefully to ensure that those who are opposed to Dayton are not in a position to block the full implementation of the peace accords.

Mr. Chen Xu (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, we would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his very extensive briefing.

We welcome the successful holding of elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina and appreciate the large amount of work done by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the parties concerned, with joint efforts by the three sides in Bosnia. They were the third elections since the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreements, and they represent an important step in the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We hope that the elections will help the early realization of self-reliance and self-sustainability in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so as to enhance peace and stability in the Balkan region.

Only through tolerance and reconciliation among the Muslims, Croats and Serbs, and the restoration of confidence and joint development efforts, will good-neighbourly relations and peace be guaranteed for the Bosnian people. We sincerely hope that the leaders of the three groups will proceed on the basis of the fundamental interests of their people and safeguard the hard-won peace, leading to the achievement of economic independence and prosperity at an early date.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) *(spoke in Russian)*: We too are grateful to Mr. Guéhenno for his briefing on the results of the elections.

Russia, as one of the guarantors of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, attaches great significance to further progress in the peace process in that country. We are convinced that the basic objective of the Bosnian settlement must be assistance in the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a united, fully fledged and viable democratic State, comprising two units which are on an equal footing.

We believe that an encouraging signal in terms of development of the situation in Bosnia has been seen in the most recent changes in Yugoslavia.

We share the concept of moving responsibility for advancing the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for the situation in that country, to the Bosnian sides.

We believe that relying on "pushing through" Dayton, which often destroys the compromise variants achieved by the Bosnians themselves, is counter-productive. The way out, obviously, should be found through drawing up approaches acceptable, first and foremost, to the Bosnian sides and not by putting pressure on them. Such a policy cannot, as practice has demonstrated, lead to a real breakthrough in a Bosnian settlement.

International structures cannot, and must not, replace the legitimately elected organs of power in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in both entities. Basic efforts must be channelled towards focused work with Bosnian political forces, encouraging their cooperation between each other and with the international community. That approach seems particularly relevant after the general elections held on 11 November. We believe that their results will be of decisive significance for the fate of the peace settlement. We believe that a guarantee of success and the irreversibility of a Bosnian settlement is full and consistent implementation of the Peace Agreement.

The time has come, apparently, to ask the question: What is more important strategically — to ensure stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina or to push for progress towards its unitarization, despite the provisions of the Peace Agreement, which might lead to the loss of all those gains accumulated with such great difficulty over the last four years? We believe that there is no alternative. Of the many factors which determine the solid basis of Dayton, the most important is the balance of these two entities on an equal footing. We cannot allow a situation in which, because of ignoring the interest of one, the whole structure collapses. The most important thing now, in our view, is to ensure real stability in the country and in each of its entities. Today this is the most important basis for moving the peace process forward. We hope that it will also be promoted by the results of the recently concluded elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): Since the representative of France will be speaking on behalf of the European Union, I will make just a few points.

My delegation welcomed the successful and peaceful conduct of the elections in Bosnia last Saturday. They were a testament to how far its people have come since the Dayton Accords were signed five years ago. The elections were efficiently organized and well run. Even the nationalist parties focused on jobs, the economy and corruption.

The official results will not be available for some time, but we expect all those elected to take forward the Dayton agenda, including refugee return, anti-corruption measures and economic reform. All the nationalist parties know what is expected of them. With Governments in Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia committed to the Dayton Accords, there has never been a better time for progress.

Miss Moglia (Argentina) *(spoke in Spanish)*: I should like to express my thanks to the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Guéhenno, for the very detailed information he has given us.

The fact that elections were held in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 11 November is, in our opinion, a valuable tool that can be used in strengthening democracy. We are pleased that the elections were carried out in an orderly manner, respecting secret balloting and without any violence. However, there were incidents during the electoral campaign, including speeches and declarations encouraging hatred, as well as a referendum having no legal basis whatsoever, clearly indicating that the Council and the international community as whole must follow very carefully developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina to ensure that the Dayton Accords are fully implemented.

Mr. Angell (Canada): I wish to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his very thorough briefing.

We join other members of the Council in expressing our pleasure at the positive showing of the non-nationalist, multi-ethnic Social Democratic Party (SDP), which received the greatest support within the Federation. We are concerned, however, at the continuing strength of the nationalist parties of each community and at the effect that this continuing strength may have on the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement.

I have two questions for Mr. Guéhenno, and recognize that it may not yet be possible to answer either of them. First, we listened very carefully to Mr. Guéhenno's comments about Mr. Jelović and are wondering whether Mr. Guéhenno has a sense of whether the international community present in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, will respond in any way to the extreme views that were expressed by Mr. Jelović. Secondly, we would ask whether Mr. Guéhenno has any more detailed sense of the likely timing of the presidential elections.

Mr. Cherif (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): First, I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on having organized this briefing on the general elections that were held on 11 November in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I would also like to thank Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for his clear and useful statement on developments in the situation in that country.

The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina participated in the third general elections since the end of the war five years ago. These elections are all the more important because they are being conducted in a climate marked by important events throughout the region. The democratic developments in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was recently admitted to the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as well as the encouraging events in Croatia, are factors promoting the development of peace and reconciliation in that country. We are confident that the establishment of close diplomatic relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will lay the foundation for good-neighbourly relations and for constructive cooperation that is mutually beneficial to the two peoples.

We welcome the good conditions in which the elections took place and the strong voter participation. Although we do not yet have the final results, we continue to hope that the moderate parties will make significant gains and that the final outcome will be in keeping with the expectations of the international community regarding the establishment of a multi-ethnic, tolerant and prosperous Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is now up to the newly elected officials to redouble their efforts to improve the living conditions of the citizens and to channel their energies in order to curb unemployment and create good prospects for young people.

In conclusion, I am pleased to pay a tribute to the OSCE for its commendable efforts in supervising the elections, and to the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which continues to work for the full implementation of the Peace Agreements.

Mr. Uanivi (Namibia): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting. I would also like to thank Mr. Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for his useful briefing on the elections held on 11 November in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When we look at what has been achieved in Bosnia and Herzegovina five years after the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords with the assistance of the international community, we all agree that there is peace and progress in that country, however limited it may be. Indeed, our assessment is that overall progress has been very slow and that political will has been lacking in the leadership in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the ground has been shifting, albeit slowly, in favour of those who wish to see a multi-ethnic, democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, my delegation urges the authorities in both entities to take their responsibility seriously and to cooperate fully with the institutions and representatives of the international community to make sure that their country does not revert to war.

The international community has spent a great deal of time and effort in Bosnia in order not to allow 62 per cent of young Bosnians to think that their future lies elsewhere in Europe, rather than in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We think that the assistance of the international community is vital in convincing those

young Bosnians that their future in Europe depends on their ability to bring a united, democratic and multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina to the European table. In this context, we are grateful to hear that the elections have proceeded smoothly, and we hope that all parties will respect the outcome.

Finally, we believe that the new political climate in the region will be able to provide wisdom and ultimately free those who have become hostage to their own narrow interests — those who believe that their interests will be protected by hatred and intolerance.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): Let me thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his detailed briefing on developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular on the conduct of the general elections held on 11 November. The smooth conduct of these elections and the fact that they proceeded without incident demonstrate the level of engagement of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their commitment to the development of their country. We see these elections as a positive step forward for Bosnia and Herzegovina and for the further consolidation of democracy.

Every effort must now be made to focus on the building of the country and its institutions and on creating a society based on peaceful, multi-ethnic coexistence. Those in authority must bear this in mind in addition to the focus on the imperatives of economic reconstruction and on sustained economic and social development.

On 26 October, the High Representative, Mr. Wolfgang Petritsch, briefed the Council. At that time, my delegation mentioned a number of priority areas which we believe are of critical importance to the process under way in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The points which we stressed in that briefing remain relevant, particularly in the light of the recent general elections. Taken together with the recent positive political developments in the region, they augur well for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We maintain that the following must be taken into consideration as the various administrations take up their duties: first, the full implementation of the New York Declaration; secondly, the return of refugees and further work on refugee-related matters, including documentation, employment, education, pensions and access to utilities; thirdly, judicial reform, which we see as critical for the creation of a democratic society; fourthly, the creation of a multi-ethnic society with multi-ethnic institutions; fifthly, the importance to the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina of the activities related to the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, which provides a broad regional framework for further progress, and in this regard, we emphasize the need for continued international support for institution-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and last but by no means least, the full involvement of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in charting their own future.

My delegation hopes that the outcome of the recent general elections will serve as a springboard for the consolidation of the gains made over recent years in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and will ensure its functioning as an integrated and multi-ethnic State.

Mr. Misran (Malaysia): My delegation is grateful for the useful briefing by Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno on the partial results of the national elections that were held in Bosnia and Herzegovina last Saturday.

We have certainly followed the 11 November elections very closely and with deep interest. We commend the Bosnian people and the international community, in particular the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), for the successful conduct of the elections. That the elections were held in a relatively free and fair manner, with the exception of some irregularities mentioned by Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno, is a strong tribute to the international community and the Bosnians themselves. We look forward to the final and official outcome of the elections, which we believe will have a very significant impact on the peace implementation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are hopeful that whoever is eventually elected by the Bosnian people in these elections will be committed to pursuing the peace process. We call upon the elected leaders to work together among themselves and with the international community to strengthen the political, economic and social foundations for national reintegration and reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is the paramount and pivotal responsibility that is expected of those leaders, under the clear provisions of the Peace Agreement, and by the international community, which is working hard to bring about its full implementation.

At this juncture, we should like to say that we share the serious concern about the illegal referendum

that was organized by the Croat nationalist party, the Croatian Democratic Union. That referendum is clearly illegal and represents a serious threat to the integrity of the Peace Agreement. It should therefore be rejected by the international community.

Mr. Toure (Mali) (*spoke in French*): Like previous speakers, I should first of all like to thank Mr. Guéhenno for his update on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. My delegation hails to and supports the commendable efforts of the High Representative to implement the Dayton Peace Accords. We call on the parties to abide strictly by the Accords. We welcome the holding, on 11 November, of the third general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This development of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina bodes well for economic reform and national reconciliation. We should like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe for organizing the elections and to the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Finally, the Council must follow the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina very closely so as to promote peaceful coexistence in that country.

Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine): We, too, are grateful to Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his presentation. Only a few weeks ago, the Council heard an open briefing on the general situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the High Representative, Wolfgang Petritsch. At that meeting, my delegation presented in full its assessment of the latest developments in Bosnia. In view of that, I will confine my comments to the few following points.

Ukraine welcomes the holding of general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 11 November as a new and important event in the context of the further development of democratic freedoms, political pluralism and the building of common State institutions in the country. Although we should not overestimate the significance of these elections, it would be incorrect to underestimate the results, too. We praise the efforts of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe for assisting the people of Bosnia to hold these elections in a free and democratic manner. My country was pleased to learn that the elections were well organized and proceeded smoothly, with only a few minor incidents recorded.

My delegation would like to recognize the constructive role played by the local police under the supervision of the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina in securing the elections in both entities. At the same time, having heard the preliminary reports about the results of the elections, we feel only cautious optimism. Regrettably, the history of the years after Dayton testifies to the fact that nationalist parties in both entities have not always been known as the strongest proponents of the implementation of the Peace Agreement. We therefore share certain concerns that their victory in the elections could impede further efforts towards that end. At the same time, we believe that no one can overrule the will of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which should be respected.

In this regard, in our view it is important for the international community to send a clear message to the winners of the 11 November elections, indicating that their victory means, first and foremost, that they have the additional responsibility for making further progress in the pursuit of the Dayton process, in full cooperation with the international community. In this context, we have also taken note, with some concern, of the reports on the holding by the Croatian Democratic Union of a parallel referendum, which was treated as illegal by the OSCE, on greater autonomy for Bosnian Croats. In our view, such actions contradict the spirit of Dayton and might not only break up the Federation but also create an irreparable breach in the whole process of national reconciliation in the country. We are firmly convinced, therefore, that no excuses for attempts to revise the Dayton Agreement should be tolerated. The resolute stance of the High Representative and the OSCE on this matter has our full support.

My delegation also believes that the political leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina should again be called upon to redouble their efforts aimed at the full implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords as soon as possible, in order to change the culture of dependency on the international community to a culture of self-sustainability. Nonetheless, it is our sincere hope that if that message is heard, the results of the general elections held in Bosnia on 11 November will contribute to the further stabilization of Bosnia and Herzegovina and be conducive to the strengthening of the new political environment brought about in the whole region by the recent democratic changes in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

For its part, Ukraine stands ready to continue to contribute to the peace process in Bosnia through its participation in the activities of the Peace Implementation Council, the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Security Council.

Mr. Amin (Bangladesh): We are grateful to Under-Secretary-General Jean-Marie Guéhenno for updating us on the current situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We appreciate the detailed information and analysis with which he provided us on the general elections. This morning, we had an opportunity to deliberate on this issue in plenary meeting in the General Assembly. Our main focus was on the economic development of the war-ravaged country. We believe that that is the key to the future of the country.

In a few days, we will be observing the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord. It was that Accord that allowed the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign State. The new leadership is therefore expected to pursue the Dayton agenda, as our colleagues have said, with renewed commitment and vigour. The peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina have worked hard in recent years to restore their war-torn country to normalcy. Not all of their efforts have been rewarded with success, although some notable progress has been achieved.

Much of the slow pace at which the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accord has proceeded has been attributed to a lack of commitment by the local leadership — or, at least, by part of it — as well as to the surrounding political environment. This is now changing, or expected to change. We have reasons to be optimistic that the Dayton implementation process will now gather new momentum and proceed at a faster pace. Our optimism cannot but be guarded, however, as other speakers have pointed out, in view of the disposition of the nationalist forces.

With this backdrop in mind, we have several points to make. First, with regard to elections, we welcome the successful completion of general elections on 11 November in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosniacs, Serbs, Croats and other minorities deserve our praise for the peaceful conduct of the democratic process. We also appreciate the efforts made by the High Representative, as well as by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission, in the holding of these elections. From the preliminary information and assessment, it appears that political pluralism in Bosnia and Herzegovina is putting down roots. This is likely to usher in a new era in which, hopefully, the leaders will rise above their ethnically driven political agenda and be able to work for the well-being of the common citizen. It will now be the duty of all leaders representing their people at different levels to work hard for political stability and the economic development of the country.

Secondly, with regard to the political environment, new leaders have emerged this year in Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is likely to change the political dynamics of the region and facilitate a resolution of the long-standing issues of the return of refugees, detained and missing persons, war crimes and other related matters.

Thirdly, with regard to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons, there has recently been an increase in the return of refugees to their pre-war homes. The High Representative, in his briefing to the Security Council last month, mentioned the return of about 30,000 minorities this year. This relative increase in the rate of return is a positive development, and it should be sustained. The most important aspect of these returns is that they took place in or near the towns of Srebrenica and Foca, which are synonymous with mass killing and wild destruction. Much credit is owed to the tough measures taken by the High Representative for implementation of property laws, which have facilitated an increase in refugee returns.

Fourthly, on the issue of economic reform, we started by saying that we put emphasis on the economic reconstruction of the country. The new leadership must create conditions for self-sustained economic growth. The country must move beyond the legacies of the past era and make the transition to a dynamic civil society and a healthy, market-driven economy. The need for continued support by the partners of the peace implementation process is vital. This will set the stage for success, despite the many hurdles that might be erected by the obstructionist political forces.

Fifthly, attention should particularly be directed to capacity-building, including the modernization of the judiciary, strong and independent courts, the training of police and border service personnel, and support for key legislation projects.

The priorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina remain in the areas of economic reform, the return of displaced

persons and refugees and the building of common institutions — areas already identified by the High Representative as the three main priorities. Although progress has been slow, Bosnia and Herzegovina has come a long way towards attaining these goals. We applaud the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina for their continued efforts to rebuild a well-functioning sovereign State.

We are fully cognizant of the many obstacles standing in the way of progress. The need for the world to stand by the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and provide the necessary support, assistance and encouragement is now greater than ever. We hope that Bosnia will soon be on a definite course towards economic and institutional recovery and that it will register achievements which will pave the way towards its ultimate integration into the rest of Europe.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus and Malta, as well as the European Free Trade Association country member of the European Economic Area — Norway — align themselves with this statement.

The briefing we have just heard from Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno reaffirms that the general elections that were held on 11 November in Bosnia and Herzegovina proceeded smoothly, without significant incident. This represents noticeable progress as compared to the 1996 and 1998 elections. These developments reflect a better acceptance by the voters of the rules of the democratic game.

In this respect, the High Representative, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), by carrying out substantive action for several years now to promote democratization and respect for human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have significantly contributed to this process. We should be gratified by this and congratulate them.

We would like also to thank the OSCE in particular for effectively organizing the voting. The OSCE's Election Appeals Subcommission is continuing its efforts to determine what took place in the polling stations in which localized problems have been identified.

Regarding the results, it is clear that at this stage we can speak only on the basis of partial and preliminary data. That data shows the dominance by the nationalist parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which we deem regrettable. On the territory of the Federation, it would seem that the multi-ethnic parties did not achieve the hoped for gains. In Republika Srpska, the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) will probably be the major victor in those elections.

Moreover, it should be recalled that the so-called referendum organized by Croat nationalists in certain sectors of Bosnia and Herzegovina was declared illegal by the OSCE. That referendum, which put forward the creation of new institutional structures based on ethnicity that would benefit only the members of one community, has no legal validity. Fortunately, the majority of the voters wisely rejected it.

As the Peace Implementation Council emphasized in Brussels last May 23 and 24, the promotion of joint operational and responsible democratic institutions is among the highest priorities of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Members of the Security Council had an opportunity to show their support for this objective on 26 October, in the presence of Mr. Wolfgang Petritsch.

In these conditions, it is essential that the elected authorities from both entities contribute, in a spirit of cooperation, to the formation of an effective central executive body. In a general manner, the Bosnian political officials bear responsibility for working to strengthen joint institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to promote good governance there in all of its aspects, and to fully implement the Dayton Agreements. This will be the key to reconciliation and economic development.

Continued efforts to change mindsets are also needed in order for voters to stop making decisions on the basis of ethnic criteria. Bosnian political officials have an essential role to play in this respect, as does the international community, in order to promote the long-awaited changes.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Austria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Pfanzelter (Austria): I have the honour to speak in Austria's capacity as Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). My statement will be very brief.

Three days ago we witnessed peaceful and orderly elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The OSCE Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina had meticulously prepared this election, which required well-coordinated efforts on the part of the international community. The OSCE Chairperson-in-Office, Austrian Foreign Minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner, expressed her gratitude and appreciation to the United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Office of the High Representative, the Stabilization Force, the European Community Monitoring Mission and other international agencies involved.

Although the OSCE retained overall responsibility for the elections, the local municipal election commissions and the more than 4,000 polling station committees carried out most of the work on the ground. In addition to more than 750 international supervisors and 200 international observers, the elections were monitored by nearly 5,500 domestic observers in polling stations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. All in all, more than 40,000 Bosnian citizens assisted in the organization of these elections, and the local police successfully ensured that they were peaceful.

The local interest in and support for the election is documented by the satisfactory voter turnout and by the smooth voting procedure. Only minor incidents were reported. Nearly all polling stations opened and closed on time. The voter lists appeared to be generally correct. There are indications of certain problems in Srebrenica, the only municipality in which municipal elections were also held. In general, however, the observers agree that the voting procedure was a success with a majority of the population voting in a fair and free manner. It is now up to the authorities to ensure an efficient and orderly transfer of power and to guarantee that the public resources and funds of the country are protected during the transitional process.

This is not the place and time for the OSCE Chair-in-Office to comment on the results of the elections. The official results have yet to be released. Clearly, the international community hopes that the outcome of the elections will strengthen the Dayton Process. Let me reiterate in this respect that the OSCE will continue its efforts to strengthen civil society and support the economic reforms, the rule of law and the return of refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Irrespective of the outcome, however, it is necessary to emphasize that the elections constitute a milestone in the realization of the concept of ownership in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On 11 November the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina demonstrated that they are prepared to shape their political destiny in a democratic, free and peaceful manner. It is up to the newly elected officials to prove that they are worthy of the trust placed in them.

The President: I invite the representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mladenović (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his briefing on the elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Soon it will be five years since the signing of the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement, the key document for the maintenance of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It reflects a delicate balance of the interests of its three peoples and two entities. It is therefore of great importance for its successful implementation and for the preservation of peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina that all signatory parties and guarantors of the Dayton/Paris Agreement respect their obligations.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is one of the signatories and guarantors of the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement. Following the major democratic changes in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, conditions are being created to view the problems and outstanding issues related to the implementation of the Agreement in a new, democratic way.

The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Vojislav Kostunica, and the new Federal Government pointed out on a number of occasions that they accept the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement and that they would call for its successful implementation. This Agreement is the only realistic basis on which a sovereign and democratic State in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be built. I would like to stress that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial claims against its neighbours, including Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of our main foreign policy priorities is the normalization of relations with all former

Yugoslav republics. We are ready to conclude, as soon as possible, an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina and to demonstrate our commitment to the pursuit of a foreign policy based on peace, good-neighbourliness and constructiveness. I would like to recall that Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first country President Vojislav Kostunica visited upon his election. On 12 October he conducted talks with the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I wish to point out that the most important issue at this moment is to secure a consistent and full implementation of the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement. Various requests or proposals aimed at changing or revising the Agreement are unacceptable for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is therefore very important for the international community to unequivocally support the implementation of the Dayton/Paris Agreement.

The victory of democratic forces in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the strengthening of democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina will help strengthen our mutual relations. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will also work towards establishing special relations with Republika Srpska, which is in accordance with the Dayton/Paris Agreement. Naturally, as one of the constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serbs have every right to maintain close links with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I assure you that those links will not be detrimental to the respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the establishment of diplomatic relations.

We are pleased to note that the general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina were held in a safe environment, without incidents, and that they could be called truly democratic, free and fair. All three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina have proved that they are ready to assume responsibility for democratic development, for their own future and for the commitment of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Europe.

We are convinced that normalization of relations among the countries of South-East Europe is a *conditio sine qua non* for peace, stability and development in the region and the shortest way for all its countries to take their rightful place in the European family of nations.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that one of the first priorities in the implementation of the Dayton/Paris Agreement is the return of refugees and displaced persons. I emphasize that in view of the fact that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the country that provides shelter to the greatest number of refugees in Europe today. There are currently 286,600 refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 337,000 from Croatia and 269,500 internally displaced persons in Yugoslavia receiving humanitarian aid. This humanitarian, economic and political problem can hardly be solved without support, cooperation and understanding by the international community. Therefore, all existing means and possibilities should be used, and new solutions should be sought, in order to alleviate this problem. Above all, this approach serves the interests of refugees and displaced persons and is aimed at strengthening stability in the region.

The question of the economic reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the success of the transition process is also very important for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in view of the complementary and interdependent nature of the economies of the two countries. We are convinced that significant breakthroughs will soon be made in this area as well. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a strong advocate of an open market economy. Economic cooperation with Bosnia and Herzegovina is therefore very high on its agenda.

As I already stated, in a few days we are to mark the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement. The five years of peace have shown all the advantages of peace over war, conflict and division. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia calls, therefore, on all sides in Bosnia and Herzegovina to recommit themselves, with new enthusiasm, full openness and dialogue to an efficient implementation, primarily of the civilian part of the Dayton Agreement. As a signatory and guarantor of the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is prepared to render its full support to the democratic process in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, by the same token, to the stabilization of the region of South-East Europe as a whole.

The President: I shall now give the floor to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno to respond to the comments and questions raised in the debate.

Mr. Guéhenno: There were two questions from the Canadian representative, one on President Jelović's remarks. It is, I think, the understanding of the international organization present in Bosnia and Herzegovina that those remarks should not go unanswered. At the moment there is discussion with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe on what the appropriate answer is, and that has not been finalized yet.

On the second question, the timing of presidential elections, this is indeed a very political issue, and we do not have information at this stage as to when they could take place.

The President: I thank Mr. Guéhenno for the clarifications he has provided.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.